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SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE CONDUCT OF
THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
TOWARDS
THE INDIAN TRIBES
IN THE
SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONIES OF EAST AND WEST JERSEY
AND PENNSYLVANIA:
WITH
A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THEIR LABOURS
FOR THE
CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION
OF THE INDIANS,
FROM THE TIME OF THEIR SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA, TO THE YEAR 1843.

PUBLISHED BY THE ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE
OF

The Meeting for Sufferings.

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THE FOLLOWING ARE THE ABORIGINES' PUBLICATIONS OF
THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS.

- No. 1.—INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.—1838.
- No. 2.—EFFECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF ARDENT SPIRITS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR AMONGST THE NATIVES OF THE SOUTH-SEA ISLANDS AND NEW SOUTH WALES.—1839.
- No. 3.—FURTHER INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES; CONTAINING EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS IN LONDON, AND OF THE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS OF THE YEARLY MEETINGS OF PHILADELPHIA AND BALTIMORE; TOGETHER WITH SOME PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE SEMINOLE WAR.—1839.
- No. 4.—FACTS RELATIVE TO THE CANADIAN INDIANS.—1839.
- No. 5.—REPORT OF THE ABORIGINES' COMMITTEE OF THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS FOR THE YEAR 1840; WITH THE ADDRESS TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL; THAT TO FRIENDS SETTLING IN NEW COLONIES; AND SOME PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE STATE OF ABORIGINAL TRIBES.—1840.
- No. 6.—AN ADDRESS OF CHRISTIAN COUNSEL AND CAUTION TO EMIGRANTS.—1841.
- No. 7.—THE REPORT OF THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES, PRESENTED TO THE YEARLY MEETING.—1841.
- No. 8.—FURTHER INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ABORIGINES; CONTAINING REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS AT PHILADELPHIA; EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE YEARLY MEETINGS OF PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK, NEW ENGLAND, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, AND OHIO. TOGETHER WITH SOME PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE NATIVES OF NEW ZEALAND, NEW HOLLAND, AND VAN DIEMAN'S LAND.—1842.
- No. 9.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CONDUCT OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS TOWARDS THE INDIAN TRIBES IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONIES OF EAST AND WEST JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA; WITH A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THEIR LABOURS FOR THE CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION OF THE INDIANS FROM THE TIME OF THEIR SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA TO THE YEAR 1843.—1844.

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- „ John Churchman.
- „ William Edmundson.
- „ Thomas Story.
- „ John Woolman.
- „ Thomas Eddy.
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MS. Letters and Papers, Ancient and Modern, Maps, et cetera, &c., &c.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Aborigines' Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, in continuing to have its attention directed to the important subjects referred to its care, have prepared the following brief narrative of the conduct pursued by the members of our religious Society, in the settlement of the colonies of East and West Jersey and Pennsylvania, and of their Christian care over the North American Indians, from the period of the first settlement of Friends in America down to the present time; with a hope that it may tend to promote the interest already felt by Friends in the truly laudable work of endeavouring to mitigate the evils which have arisen, and still continue to arise, to a large portion of the human family, by the immigration of European settlers among them.

In the publication of this narrative, we also entertain a trust, that by bringing more into view the great advantages which resulted to the early settlers in these colonies, from pursuing an upright, peaceable, and conciliatory course towards the native inhabitants, it may incite others to follow the same line of conduct; and, that, by exhibiting the gradual progress which the Indian tribes, under the care of Friends, have made from a state of wandering barbarism to one of a settled and civilized character, and, in many instances, to the full reception of Christianity, it may give encouragement to increased exertions on behalf of this interesting section of our fellow-men.

The subject of improving the condition of the Indian tribes in and bordering upon the United States, has, from a very early period of our Society, been one of correspondence

between Friends in that country and this, and for nearly a century past, pretty frequently so; by which, from time to time, much information respecting these Aborigines has been communicated to our Yearly Meeting, exciting therein a lively interest for the promotion of the various benevolent plans adopted by our American brethren for the spiritual and temporal good of this people.

The information furnished to our Yearly Meeting during the last few years, respecting the concern of some of the Yearly Meetings in America, to engage in labours of this kind among the Indians located west of the Mississippi river, is calculated to produce a more than ordinary degree of interest in this important subject; and should it appear to be the duty of Friends in this land, as it has been in former years, to take active measures for the promotion of this engagement, we desire that we may be found alive to its full discharge.

The field for benevolent enterprise among the native Indian tribes of North America is not only highly interesting but very extensive, embracing, according to information furnished to Congress a few years since, an Indian population of 325,000 under the jurisdiction of the United States; besides the large and numerous tribes scattered over the region extending west from the Rocky Mountains to the shores of Columbia and California; and those located within as well as north and west of the Canadas.

Much as our American brethren have in various ways been instrumental in promoting the welfare of this class of our fellow-men, it will, nevertheless, be seen by the following account, that the number of Indians who have been participants of their Christian labours to any great extent, forms but a comparatively small proportion even of those situated in the Union. One of the obstacles which have been thrown in the way of extending Christian instruction to them, and of ameliorating their condition for a considerable number of years past, has been the gradual removal of them from their

native lands, by unjust and oppressive treaties on the part of the Federal Government, to the distant and uncultivated territories of the west, in direct opposition to their own wishes. These removals, or rather banishments, have been carried on to such an extent, that that portion of the country lying east of the Mississippi, which had at one time a large native population, has not at the present time more than a few thousands of them scattered over its wide extent; and fresh efforts, we are concerned to see, are now making for the removal even of these remnants of them.

In order more fully to illustrate the subject of the following pages, the Committee have thought it advisable to accompany them with two maps, one an aboriginal map of the country east of the river Mississippi, exhibiting the territory which the several Indian nations occupied previously to the settlement of the English colonies in America; the other, a map of North America, showing the territory *now* occupied by the natives, and also denoting the boundaries of the several Yearly Meetings of Friends in that land. With this view, also, the annexed short description of the locality of the various Indian nations east of the Mississippi has been prepared.

A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY THE SEVERAL INDIAN NATIONS EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI BEFORE ITS COLONIZATION BY EUROPEANS.

SEEING the origin of the aboriginal inhabitants of the North American continent is wrapped in much obscurity, having nothing but modern conjecture on record respecting it, we deem it most advisable to be silent upon a subject of so much uncertainty; of their history, however, for the last two centuries, the accounts of European travellers and settlers among them furnish us with tolerably accurate information, more particularly with regard to those who dwelt on the land east

of the river Mississippi. From these sources we have been able to gather, with tolerable precision, the locality occupied by the several nations of them about two centuries ago, as they were distinguished by language one from another, which we have arranged under the following heads ; for a further illustration of which we refer our readers to the maps accompanying this work. There does not appear to have been in this part of North America more than eight languages of a decidedly distinct character, of which five, at the present time, constitute the speech of large communities, and three are known only as memorials of nearly extinct tribes.

I. The primitive language, which was the most widely extended, and the most prolific in dialects, was that of the Adirondacks, to which the French gave the name of Algonquin, and by which it was more generally known. The tongue was spoken from Cape Canso and the Bay of Gaspé to the banks of the Mississippi ; from the Cumberland River in Kentucky and Cape Fear, and it is presumed from the Savannah, to the country of the Esquimaux.

The Micmacs, who probably never much exceeded three thousand in number, held possession of Nova Scotia and the adjacent islands, and also the east of the continent, south of a small tribe, called by early geographers Gaspesians, that dwelt round the Bay of Gaspé.

The Etchemins, or Canoemen, dwelt on the rivers St. John and St. Croix, and extended considerably to the west.

Next to these came the Abenakis, from whom descended the Penobscot, Passamaquaddy, and Androscoggin tribes ; another had its abode in Norridgewock.

The tribes that disappeared from their ancient hunting-grounds in the east, did not always become extinct, as some of them are known to have migrated to the north and west. Many of the Sokokis, who appear to have dwelt near the river Saco, and to have had an alliance with the Mohawks, at an early period abandoned the locality where they first became known to the Europeans, and placed themselves

under the shelter of the French in Canada. But the Indians, generally, instead of forming friendly alliances with their more civilized neighbours, were induced, through the misconduct of the latter, to shun the vicinity of their settlements. To this we may perhaps ascribe the migration of some of the native population. Thus, among the tribes of Texas, there are Indians who are said to trace their pedigree to Algonquins bordering on the Atlantic, and it is known that descendants from New England Indians now inhabit some of the western prairies.

The country beyond the Saco, with New Hampshire as far as Salem, was occupied by the Pennacook or Pawtucket tribe. The Massachusetts Indians, even before the colonization of the country, had almost disappeared from the land of the bay that bears this name, and the native villages of the interior resembled insulated and nearly independent bands.

The most civilized of the northern Indians were the Pokanokets, who dwelt in Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a part of Cape Cod; and the Narragansetts, who occupied Rhode Island, a part of Long Island, and the land between the bay that bears their name and the present limits of Connecticut; these, with the Pequods, the branch of the Mohegans that held the eastern part of Connecticut and a part of Long Island, were the earliest victims of European colonization in North America. In the territory between the banks of the Connecticut and the Hudson, were independent villages of the Mohegans, kindred with the Manhattans, who once dwelt on New York Island.

Of the Lenelenoppes, or, as some modern writers have it, Lenni Lenape, there were two divisions, the Minsi and the Delawares; they possessed East and West Jersey, the valley of the Delaware, far up towards its sources, and the entire basin of the Schuylkill. These were the Indians who formed the main body of those with whom William Penn made his great and memorable treaty of 1682, at Shackamaxon, the

spot on which Kensington, in the suburbs of Philadelphia, now stands.

Beyond the Delaware, on the eastern shore, dwelt the Nanticokes, who disappeared, or mingled imperceptibly with other tribes. The name of Pamlico denotes that Algonquin tribes extended along the sea-coast as far south as Cape Hatteras. It is conjectured, also, that the Corees, who dwelt to the southward of the Neuse River, spoke a similar language, thus establishing Cape Fear as the southern boundary of the Algonquins.

In Virginia the same language was spoken throughout the dominion of Powhatan, which included the tribes of the eastern shore and all the villages west of the Chesapeake, from the southernmost branch of James River to the Patuxent.

The basin of the Cumberland river is marked by the earliest geographers as the locality of the Shawnese, who connected the south-eastern Algonquins with the western. A portion of this people afterwards lived in the neighbourhood of Winchester. Their principal band removed from their hunting-grounds in Kentucky to the head-waters of one of the great rivers of South Carolina; and at a later day four hundred and fifty of them, who had been wandering in the woods for four years, were found a little north of the head-waters of the Mobile river, on their way to the country of the Muskogees. About the year 1698, nearly seventy of their families, with the consent of the Government of Pennsylvania, removed from Carolina, and settled on the Susquehanna; these were soon followed by others of the same tribe, and the number of Indian fighting men in Pennsylvania in 1732 was estimated to be seven hundred, one half of whom were Shawnese from the south. Cadwallader Colden, in 1745, said the Shawnese were the "most restless of all the Indians," and that "one tribe of them had quite gone down to New Spain."

Of the ancient territory of the Miamis, their own traditions

have preserved an account. "My forefather," said Little Turtle, the Miami Chief at Greenville, "kindled the first fire at Detroit ; from thence he extended his lines to the head-waters of Scotia; from thence to its mouth ; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash, and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan. These are the boundaries within which the prints of my ancestor's houses are everywhere to be seen." The Ottawas, from the basin of the river that bears their name, wandered to the bay of Saginam, and took possession of the whole north of the peninsula.

The Illinois, who were kindred to the Miamis, had their country between the Wabash, the Ohio, and the Mississippi.

The Potawatomes, who were a branch of the great Chippewayan nation, and came from the islands about the entrance of Green Bay, in the early part of the eighteenth century, by encroaching upon the Miamis settled at Chicago. The Chippewas inhabited the land from the mouth of Green Bay to the head-waters of Lake Superior. The Menomonies, a distinct Algonquin tribe, were found near Green Bay, as early as 1669.

The Sacs and Foxes occupied the country south-west of the Menomonies, from Green Bay and Fox River to the Mississippi, and hunted over the land between the Winconsin and upper branches of the Illinois. The Shawnese are said to have an affinity with this nation, and also the Kickapoos, who established themselves by conquest in the north of Illinois. So numerous were the Algonquin tribes, that it is supposed they constituted one half of the native population east of the Mississippi, and south of the St. Lawrence.

II. North-west of the Sacs and Foxes, west of the Chippewas, tribes of the Sioux or Dahcota Indians occupied the prairies east of the Mississippi, from the head-waters of Lake Superior to the falls of St. Anthony. The Winnebagoes, a little community of the Dahcotas, had penetrated into the territory of the Algonquins, and dwelt between Green Bay and Winnebago Lake.

III. The Huron-Iroquois, or Wyandots, on the discovery of America, were populous, and occupied an extensive territory. The peninsula between the Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, was the dwelling-place of five confederated tribes of the Hurons, who afterwards, by some unaccountable influence over other tribes, and by making treaties, gradually acquired a claim to the whole country from the St. Lawrence to the western limits of New York.

The Huron tribes of the north were surrounded by Algonquins. In the south, the rivers Chowan, Meherrin, and Nottoway derive their names from Wyandot villages; and in North Carolina the Tuscaroras were the largest tribe, numbering, it is said, in 1708, no less than twelve hundred fighting-men. We find this tribe thus alluded to, in an epistle addressed by George Fox to some Friends in Virginia, in 1673: "If you go over again to Carolina, you may enquire of Captain Batts, the Governor, with whom I left a paper to be read to the emperor, and his thirty kings under him, of the Tuscaroras."

IV. On the central lands of Carolina, south of the Tuscaroras, dwelt the Catawbias, with whom were included the Woccons. The Catawbias in their most populous days were not reckoned to be more than one thousand two hundred fighting-men, an enumeration made in the year 1743, gives but four hundred. This nation, therefore, on the arrival of European settlers, appears not to have numbered more than three thousand.

V. The Cherokees, who were the mountaineers of America, occupied the upper valley of the Tennessee River, as far west as Muscle Shoals, and the highlands of Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama—considered to be the most picturesque and salubrious country east of the Mississippi. Their towns were generally by the side of creeks and rivers. The Tugeloo, Flint, and branches of the Tennessee were rivers that flowed through their country, to which they had an ardent attachment.

VI. South-east of the Cherokees were located the Uchees, who claimed the land above and below Augusta, and pride themselves on being the oldest occupants of that country. They now, however, form but a small section of the Creeks, and are known as a distinct family by their singularly harsh and guttural language.

VII. The Natchez, who also have mingled with the Creeks, are described in history as having been a distinct nation, possessing not more than four or five villages, the largest of which was near the banks of the Mississippi.

VIII. The whole country south-east, south, and west of the Cherokees to the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico, to the Mississippi and confluence of the Tennessee and Ohio, with the exception of the Uchees and Natchez, was in the possession of one great family of nations, the language of which was called Mobilian. It included three large confederacies, each of which still exists, and, it is thought, even with some increase of numbers. In the territory bounded by the Ohio on the north, the Mississippi at the west, and on the east by a line drawn from the bend in the Cumberland river to the Muscle Shoals of the Tennessee, and extending at the south into the state of Mississippi, dwelt the Chickasaws.

Between the Mississippi and the Tombecbee, below the Chickasaws, was the country of the Choctaws: they lived in compact villages, on the eastern frontier, but through the interior of their territory were much scattered. Dwelling in plains, or among gentle hills, they excelled all other North American Indians in agricultural pursuits, subsisting chiefly on corn, and placing but little dependence on the chase. The number of their fighting-men is supposed to have exceeded 4000.

The ridge that divided the Tombecbee from the Alabama, was the line that separated the Choctaws from the tribes which formed the Muskhogees, or Creeks. Their territory included all Florida, and extended on the north to the Cherokees; on the north-east and east to the Savannah, and

to the Atlantic along the sea, their northern limit seems to have extended almost to Cape Fear. Their population, although spread over a territory fourfold greater than that of the Choctaws, did not exceed them in number. Their towns were situated on the banks of the creeks, in which their country abounded; they followed agricultural pursuits industriously. The Yamassees, on the Savannah, it is thought, formed one of their bands; and the Seminoles of Florida are the "wild men" of this confederacy, but separated from them by choosing the wandering life of the hunter rather than the more settled one of agriculture.

The whole number of the Aborigines of America dwelling east of the Mississippi two hundred years ago, is computed not to have exceeded one hundred and eighty thousand. Of these, the various tribes of the Algonquin family are reckoned at ninety thousand; the Eastern Sioux, less than three thousand; the Huron-Iroquois, including the Tuscaroras, about seventeen thousand; the Catabaws, three thousand; the Uchees, one thousand; the Natchez, four thousand; the Cherokees, twelve thousand; and the Mobilian tribes, fifty thousand. The Cherokee and Mobilian families, it appears, are now more numerous than they were ever known to be.

PART I.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CONDUCT OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS TOWARDS THE INDIAN TRIBES IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONIES OF EAST AND WEST JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA, WITH A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THEIR LABOURS FOR THE CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION OF THE INDIANS, FROM THE TIME OF THEIR SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA TO THE YEAR 1794.

THE early settlement of Friends on the North American continent, having an intimate connexion with the civilization and Christian instruction of the Indian races, we are induced, in the commencement of the present division of our subject, to make some allusion to the rise and settlement of Friends in that land.

The earliest account which history furnishes respecting Friends in North America, is that which records the cruel sufferings endured by some of them at Boston in New England in the year 1656, for the testimony of a good conscience. We are not aware that any professed our principles on that continent previous to this date. Many Friends, it appears, were sufferers in Maryland for their testimony against bearing arms, as early as 1658; and in 1659 we find George Fox addressing epistles to Friends in New England, Maryland, and Virginia.

In the account of the Life of John Burnyeat written by himself, we find that, in the year 1669, meetings were settled in Maryland, Virginia, Rhode Island, New England, and New York, where he says, "he spent some time amongst Friends in going through their meetings." John Burnyeat in 1671 again visited America, and in this year attended the Half-year's Meeting which was established at Oyster Bay on

Long Island, and also the Yearly Meeting on Rhode Island, which he says, "continues for much of a week, and is a general meeting once a year for all Friends in New England." It is evident from this statement, that the Yearly Meeting for New England existed prior to 1671; and there is no doubt but that the Half-year's Meeting on Long Island was continued until 1695, when the Yearly Meetings of London and New England established the Yearly Meeting for New York to be held on Long Island.

No Yearly Meeting, it appears, was established in Maryland until about the year 1688, in which year an Epistle was sent from it to our own. In 1683, an Epistle was addressed to George Fox from the Half-year's Meeting of Maryland, and we find that several years prior to this date meetings for discipline were set up in this province. John Burnyeat speaks of being at a meeting in 1672, which he appointed to be held at West River in Maryland for all the Friends in the province, that he might see them together before he left it; and which he says was very large, and continued for several days; and "a men's and women's meeting for the settling of things, that men's and women's meetings might be established in the province, according to the blessed order of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, which Friends, by the power thereof, were gathered into [in] most places." By this account it appears that meetings for discipline were settled previous to 1672, and this is confirmed by a notice of George Fox, who was present at this meeting, and who says in his Journal, "After this [meeting at West River] we went to the Cliffs, where another general meeting was appointed:"—"to this meeting came many who received the truth with reverence."

It does not appear that any meetings for discipline existed within the compass of Virginia Yearly Meeting until the year 1672, in which year William Edmundson says in his Journal, "I took boat and went to Virginia, where things were much out of order; but the Lord's power and testi-

mony went over all. When I got several powerful meetings among them, and their minds a little settled, so that truth had got some hold, I appointed a men's meeting for the settling of them in the way of truth's discipline." William Edmundson afterwards proceeded to visit Friends in North Carolina, and encountered many difficulties in his travels, before he reached the house of Henry Phillips, near Albemarle River, of whom he says, that "he and his wife had been convinced of the truth in New England, and came to live here, and not having seen a Friend for seven years before, they wept with joy to see us." That the number of Friends was but few in North Carolina at this date, we may gather from an epistle addressed to them about this time by George Fox, in which he says, "So you few that are that way, keep your meetings, and meet together in the name of Jesus, whose name is above every name, and gathering above every gathering."

The Carolinas at this period had, it appears, but few settlers in them, not having been formed into a colony more than a few years previous to these visits of George Fox and William Edmundson; and so slowly did the tide of emigration set in towards this part, that in 1688 it is stated, that there were not more than eight thousand settlers in the Carolinas and Georgia. In reference to the early state of this colony, Bancroft says, "there seems not to have been a minister in the land; there was no public worship but such as burst from the hearts of the people themselves, and when at last William Edmundson came to visit his Quaker brethren among the groves of Albemarle, he met with a tender people, delivered his doctrine in the authority of truth, and made converts to the Society of Friends. A Quarterly Meeting of discipline was established, and this sect was the first to organize a religious government in Carolina."

The earliest settlement of Friends within the compass of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, of which we have any account was in the year 1667; at which time, Smith, in his History

of New Jersey says, "that the settlers at Shrewsbury were all, or most of them, Friends, and that a meeting was settled there in 1670." George Fox, in the *Journal of his Travels in America in 1672*, speaks of being at a meeting at Shrewsbury in East Jersey, "to which Friends and other people came," and that in "the same week we had a men's and women's meeting out of most parts of New Jersey." "They are building," he continues, "a meeting-place in the midst of them, and there is a Monthly and General meeting set up."

About the year 1675, the territory of West Jersey came by purchase from Lord Berkeley into the hands of John Fenwicke, a Friend, in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns, in consequence of which, in this year, John Fenwicke, with a number of other Friends from London, landed at a place on the Delaware, which he named Salem, and on their arrival settled a meeting there. A dispute having arisen between John Fenwicke and Edward Byllinge, was at last composed, by the assistance of William Penn, to whom, with Gawen Lawrie of London, and Nicholas Lucas of Hertford, the management of the province was now committed as trustees for Edward Byllinge, and, from this circumstance, William Penn became one of the chief instruments in settling the colony of West Jersey.

Although the land thus purchased gave Friends a legal right to the soil, in the commonly understood sense of that term, it nevertheless did not, in their estimation, fully entitle them to it, without a further purchase was made from its aboriginal inhabitants, whom they regarded as the alone rightful proprietors of the land. Recognizing then this principle, we find William Penn and his colleagues in their instructions for the government of the province in 1676, recommending "that the commissioners should immediately agree with the Indians for lands." The first treaty of this kind with the Indians took place in the succeeding year, when the second ship arrived at the colony, bringing about two hundred and thirty

persons; most of whom were Friends from Yorkshire and London, who landed about Rackoon Creek on the Delaware; soon after which eight persons, commissioned for the purpose, proceeded further up the river, to the place where Burlington now stands, and “treated with the Indians, and entered on the regulation of their settlements,” and made several purchases of land from them, but not having, at the time of the negociation, goods sufficient to pay for all they bought, a further agreement was made with them, not to settle on any part until it was paid for. The number of Friends who emigrated to West Jersey, during the years 1676, 1677, and 1678, is stated to be about eight hundred, and those mostly persons of property. Clarkson, in his *Life of William Penn*, says, that up to the year 1681, “he had sent to it about fourteen hundred people.”

These early settlers in this province, coming, as they did, to a country for the most part in an uncultivated state, underwent many hardships before they could bring the land into a state sufficiently productive for their support; and many of them arriving in the latter end of the year, they had only time to erect a kind of wigwam for their accommodation during the approaching winter. In this needful time the untutored Indians proved themselves real benefactors to Friends, and evidenced that their hearts were imbued with generous and humane feelings, by liberally supplying these new occupants of their native lands, in a time of difficulty and distress, with corn and venison, which was their principal food, and by freely bringing Indian corn, peas, beans, fish, and fowl for sale. The following extract from a paper, written by one of the passengers from Hull, in 1678, relating to the early settlement of Friends in this part, will, we think, be found interesting:—

“The first settlers were mostly of the people called Quakers, who were well beloved where they came from, and had valuable estates; and though while they lived in their native country they had plenty of all necessaries, yet their de-

sire to remove to America was so strong, that they could not be content without going thither; and chose to venture themselves, their wives, children, and all they had in the undertaking."

"But, notwithstanding the masters of families were men of good estates, yet, before they could get their land in order, and corn and stock about them, they endured great hardships, and went through many difficulties and straits; nevertheless, I never perceived any of them to repine or repent of their coming."—"As it is said in holy writ, the preparation of the heart in man is of the Lord, so it may well be believed, that the hearts of these people were prepared for this service, even to labour for the replenishing of the land, it being a wilderness indeed, and they unacquainted with the nature of the soil and also with the inhabitants; although pilgrims and strangers at their first coming among them."

"A providential hand was very visible and remarkable in many instances that might be mentioned; and the Indians were even rendered our benefactors and protectors. Without any carnal weapon we entered the land and inhabited therein, as safe as if there had been thousands of garrisons; for the Most High preserved us from harm both of man and beast."

"The aforesaid people were zealous in performing their religious service; for having, at first, no meeting-house to keep public meetings in, they made a tent or covert of sail-cloth to meet under; and after they got some little houses to dwell in, then they kept their meetings in one of them, 'till they could build a meeting-house. Thomas Olive and William Peachy were two of the first settlers who had a public ministry."

Whilst West Jersey was thus under the control of Friends, East Jersey was, and had been for some years, the property of Sir George Carteret, in whose time, it is said, it was considerably peopled, and in the compass of which, as we have already noticed, many Friends were located. By the last

will of Carteret, who died in 1679, it was directed that East Jersey should be sold in order to pay his debts. This being done accordingly, the province was purchased by twelve persons, who soon after took in twelve others, making in all twenty-four proprietors, among whom we find the names of William Penn, Robert Barclay, David Barclay, Ambrose Rigge, Gawen Lawrie, Thomas Rudyard, and Edward Byllinge, all well-known Friends. Indeed there is reason to believe that, if we except the Earl of Perth and Lord Drummond, most, if not all, the proprietors were members of our Society. "Among the proprietaries," says Oldmixon, in alluding to this purchase, "are several extraordinary persons besides Lord Perth, as Robert West, Esq., the lawyer; William Penn, the head of the Quakers in England; and Robert Barclay, the head of the Quakers in Scotland and Ireland; and, at the same time, John Archdale, the Quaker, who was chosen member of parliament for Wycombe, was a proprietary of Carolina.*" The deed of conveyance bears date the first and second of the twelfth month, 1681-2, and in the following year, "Robert Barclay of Urie in Scotland," was, by the rest of the proprietors, made Governor for life of East Jersey. He appointed Thomas Rudyard, before mentioned, as his deputy, and after him Gawen Lawrie of London.

That this purchase of East Jersey, nearly one half of whose frontier was marked by the boundary line between it and West Jersey, and contiguous as it was to the province of Pennsylvania, the sole proprietorship of which had, but a few months previously devolved on William Penn, was a step likely to promote the carrying out of the comprehensive and philanthropic views of that great man, to which we shall

* We find, on referring to the proceedings of the House of Commons, that John Archdale was "voluntarily" returned as a member of parliament for the Borough of "Chipping Wycombe," or High Wycombe, in 1698. He was not, however, allowed to sit, because he objected to take the oaths then imposed to qualify for a seat in the House.

again advert, there can, we think, be but little doubt; there is, indeed, something remarkable in the fact, that the only three provinces in the globe ever governed by the peaceful and benign principles of Christianity, and in all of which William Penn was the active agent in laying down the form of their respective governments, should thus, by a coincidence of circumstances, be brought in such close approximation to each other.

In connexion with the early settlement of Friends in America; it is interesting to observe the early attention which was given to the establishment of meetings for discipline. One of the first steps of this kind in West Jersey, appears to have been the institution of a Monthly Meeting; as appears by the records of Burlington Monthly Meeting, which commence with the following minute, viz.

“Since, by the good providence of God, many Friends with their families have transported themselves into this province of West Jersey, the said Friends in these upper parts have found it needful, according to the practice in the place we came from, to settle Monthly Meetings, for the well ordering of the affairs of the church, it was agreed, that accordingly it should be done, and accordingly it was done, the 15th of the 5th month, 1678.”

The following minute of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting further illustrates the subject, viz.

“Friends belonging to the meeting in Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, being met in the fear and power of the Lord, at the present meeting-place in the said city, the 9th day of the 11th month, being the third day of the week, in the year 1682, they did take into consideration the settlement of meetings therein, for the affairs and service of truth, according to that godly and comely practice and example which they had received and enjoyed with true satisfaction amongst their friends and brethren in the land of their nativity, and did then and there agree, that the first third day of the week in every month, shall hereafter

be the Monthly Meeting day for the men's and women's meetings, for the affairs and service of truth in this city and county, and every third meeting shall be the Quarterly Meeting of the same."

Having thus cursorily glanced at the early settlement of Friends in North America, we shall now proceed to notice the course which they pursued towards the Indians with whom, by their removal to this land, they were now so nearly located.

We have already seen, by the treaty which Friends had with the Indians for the purchase of lands in West Jersey, in 1677, that a principle prevailed to recognise in them the undisputed right and disposal of the soil, which from time immemorial they had occupied; and that already there had grown up a feeling of trust and confidence in each other, and that a disposition to render kindly services, existed to no inconsiderable extent between them. This excellent understanding and good feeling, being, on the part of the Indians in West Jersey, mainly brought about by the treaties which led them into more intimate intercourse with Friends, than otherwise in all probability, would have been the case at this date; it is not reasonable to suppose that the same feeling, to such an extent at least, should prevail with the Indians in other provinces, who hitherto had no transactions of this kind; be that, however, as it may, we find Friends almost as early as they came in contact with the native tribes of America, and many years previous to the settlement of West Jersey, much interested for the promotion of their good. As early as the year 1659, we find that Friends were engaged in gospel labours among this interesting class of their fellow-men. John Taylor, a Friend of York, who, in this very early period of our Society, travelled extensively in America, in the journal of his travels in that land, thus records one of the interviews which he had with this people: viz. "I travelled twice through that island, and had very good service for the Lord there; but as I was coming the first time to Shelter

Island, I came late into an Indian town, where my guide led me into a wigwam, or house, such kind of huts that they live in, which are round, made like arbours with small poles, &c. Being received kindly, and directed to my lodging, upon some mats and rushes, I laid down to sleep. This was eight or ten miles from any house that I knew of, or any English in the woods. When I travelled that way again, they [the Indians] were exceeding joyful, and very glad to see me. And then I had an opportunity to declare the truth to them, and to turn them from darkness to the light of Christ Jesus, in their own hearts, which would teach them, and give them the knowledge of God that made them. And they heard me soberly, and did confess to the truth I spake, by an interpreter that was my guide : and they were loving and kind afterwards to Friends." In 1667, we find that indefatigable labourer for the good of mankind, George Fox, thus addressing Friends in the station of ministers in Virginia, Maryland, New England, &c. viz. "And some of you should take some of the eminent, true, good, and upright Friends, and go and discourse with some of the heathen kings, desiring them to gather their council and people together, that you may declare God's everlasting truth, and his everlasting way of life and salvation to them."

A few years subsequent to this date, the advice thus extended by George Fox to his transatlantic brethren, he was enabled by example still further to impress. In the year 1672 he paid a very general visit to the English settlements in North America, and in speaking of his visit to Maryland in this year, he says "As we came among the Indians we declared the day of the Lord to them." Soon after his landing in Maryland, he states, "it was upon me from the Lord, to send to the Indian emperor and his kings to come to a meeting; the emperor came, and was at the meeting; but his kings, lying further off, could not reach thither in time enough, yet they came after. I had in the evening two good opportunities with them: they heard the

word of the Lord willingly, and confessed to it. They carried themselves very courteously and lovingly, and inquired where the next meeting would be, and they would come to it." On another occasion, George Fox mentions having had a "good opportunity" with them, and that "they heard the truth attentively, and were very loving." He also speaks of the Indians being at a "very glorious meeting" in 1673, a short time before he left America; of whom, "was one called their emperor, an Indian king, and their speaker, who all sat very attentive, and carried themselves very lovingly." George Fox, wishing to have a more full opportunity with the Indians, acquainted this emperor of it, and desired him to get their kings and councils together; and on the following day went ten miles to the Indian town, at which the emperor dwelt, and where the Indians "were generally come together, and had their speaker and other officers with them, and the old empress sat among them. They sat very grave and sober, and were all very attentive, beyond many called Christians. I had some with me that could interpret to them, and we had a very good meeting with them, and of very great service it was; for it gave them a good esteem of Truth and Friends; blessed be the Lord."

Robert Widders, who was also travelling in the work of the ministry in America, at the time of George Fox's visit to that country, was similarly engaged with him among the Indians. In the testimony of George Fox, concerning Robert Widders, these labours are thus alluded to. "He travelled with me into America, Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, and Maryland, and through the wilderness to Long Island, and from thence to Rhode Island, and many other places, and likewise back again from Rhode Island through the wilderness to Maryland, lying in the woods, whether it was winter or summer, many times through great perils and danger of wild beasts and men-eaters, but the Lord carried us by his arm and power over all, and out of the fear of all. And many blessed and precious meetings we had, both

among Friends and friendly people, and the Indian emperors, kings, and councils of their people."

The kind and open manner with which the Indians received those Friends who went among them to proclaim the glad tidings of the Gospel of peace, is very observable. In a brief memoir of John Bowater, who, in 1667 and 1678, was engaged in a religious visit in New York, Long Island, New England, Rhode Island, Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia, it is stated, in reference to this good disposition of the natives, "that he was more kindly used by the poor Indians in America, than by some pretended Christians here in England, after his return. The Indians entertained him in their wigwams, (the best of their habitations or lodgings,) but these Christians in their cold gaols, under confinement, as they did many others of his brethren and friends in those times."

The following extracts from Epistles, addressed from time to time by George Fox to his transatlantic brethren, show the abiding concern which attended his mind on behalf of the uncivilized tribes in that country, and his desire that Friends might be engaged in the good work of conveying Christian instruction to them, viz.,

1673. "TO FRIENDS IN VIRGINIA.

"I received letters giving me an account of the service some of you had with and amongst the Indian king and his council, and if you go over again to Carolina, you may inquire of Captain Batts, the old Governor, with whom I left a paper to be read to the Emperor, and his thirty kings under him, of the Tuscaroras, who were come to treat for peace with the people of Carolina."

1679. "TO FRIENDS IN AMERICA, CONCERNING THEIR
NEGROES AND INDIANS.

"And also you must preach the grace of God to all blacks and Indians, which grace brings salvation; and also, you must teach and instruct blacks and Indians, and others, how that God doth pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh in these days of the New Covenant, and New Testament; and that none of them must quench the motions of the Spirit, nor grieve it, nor vex it, nor rebel against it, nor err from it, nor resist it; but be led by his good Spirit to instruct them. And, also, you must instruct and teach your Indians and Negroes, and all others, how that Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man, and gave himself a ransom for all men, to be testified in due time, and is the propitiation not for the sins of Christians only, but for the sins of the whole world; and how that he doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world, with his true light, which is the Life of Christ, by whom the world was made."

1681. "TO FRIENDS IN CAROLINA.

"And if you had sometimes some meetings with the Indian kings and their people, to preach the Gospel of peace, of life, and of salvation to them; for the Gospel is to be preached to every creature; and Christ hath tasted death for every man, and died for their sins, that they might come out of death and sin, and live to Christ that died for them; who hath enlightened them with the Light, which is the life in himself, and God pours out of this spirit upon all flesh."

1682. "AN EPISTLE TO ALL PLANTERS, AND SUCH WHO ARE
TRANSPORTING THEMSELVES INTO FOREIGN PLANTATIONS IN
AMERICA.

"And in all places where you do outwardly live and settle, invite all the Indians and their kings, and have meetings with them, or they with you."

The date of the last of the foregoing epistles of George Fox, brings us to a period memorable in the history of our own Society, and in the annals of a large territory on the North American continent. William Penn, who, as we have before observed, was much concerned in the provinces of East and West Jersey, a territory computed to occupy a space of about one hundred and fifty miles in length, by fifty in breadth, and a principal promoter of its colonization since 1676, had now, by an over-ruling Providence, become the sole proprietor of a tract of land of much greater extent; comprehending about forty-one thousand square miles, an area nearly equal in extent to the whole of England. This tract of land was granted to him by the Crown of England in 1681, in lieu of a debt of sixteen thousand pounds, due to his father, Admiral Penn, for the arrears of his pay, and for large sums of money advanced by him from time to time, for naval purposes, for the liquidation of which, William Penn petitioned Charles the Second for the territory in question.

That William Penn, in petitioning for the grant of this large tract of country, must have had some object of far greater importance than the mere acquisition of land, will, from his known characteristic benevolence and exalted mind, be readily conceived. This being the case, several writers have attempted to explain the motives which led him thus to place himself in the very responsible position which he now occupied. Oldmixon, who was the contemporary of William Penn, in his account of the British Colonies, published in 1708, says, in reference to this subject, that "finding his friends, the Quakers, were harassed over England by spiritual courts, he resolved to put himself at the head of as many as would go with him, and thus conduct them to a place where they would be no longer subjected to suffering on account of their religion." Anderson, who succeeded Oldmixon, makes an observation of a similar kind. In his *Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*,

he thus speaks.—“The same year gave rise to the noble English colony of Pennsylvania in North America. Mr. William Penn, an eminent Quaker, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philosophy, had it granted to him at this time. He designed it for a retreat or asylum for the people of his own religious persuasion, then made uneasy at home through the bigotry of spiritual courts.” It is by no means surprising to us, that the object which William Penn had in view should be thus understood by the casual observer of things relating to the settlement of Pennsylvania;—the large number of respectable families and persons of property, of known quiet and settled habits of life, who left their native land for a country in an almost wilderness state, and with every probability of meeting with hardships and deprivations, considered in connexion with the grievous persecution, which Friends of that day endured in this land, was very likely to give rise to the opinions advanced by Oldmixon and Anderson.

Great as we know the desires of William Penn were, for the liberation of his friends from the galling yoke of oppression, to which they were subjected in this country, for their adherence to what they apprehended were the requirements of Truth, and which, we believe, he was as much engaged to promote as any other individual of his day; and however much, in the tenderness of his feelings for them, he might have been influenced in petitioning for this territory, with a view to provide them with a country, where church domination, and the persecution of spiritual courts should be unknown; it is, nevertheless, clear to us, that this was far from the *main* object which he had in view. In fact, we cannot bring our minds to believe that William Penn, seeing the noble testimony which was now so conspicuously raised, to the spirituality of the Christian religion, and the light which shone so brightly forth in the lives of those with whom he was associated in religious fellowship, should, by

persuading these devoted people to emigrate to a comparatively obscure and thinly populated part of the globe, thus place this light as it were under a bushel, and remove it far away from among the civilized nations of the earth, for the simple object only of affording them a quiet retreat from a persecution, in and through which, as he had ample opportunity of beholding, the Divine Arm so remarkably supported them.

Whatever may be the conjectures of men regarding the object which William Penn had in view, in seeking to obtain the province of Pennsylvania, we are not left in doubt of what he himself aimed at in this great undertaking. In his petition to the Crown he states, that in making the application for the grant, " he had in view the glory of God by the civilization of the poor Indians, and the conversion of the Gentiles, by just and lenient measures, to Christ's kingdom." That this was a most prominent feature in his petition, and apparently the *main* object which he had in view, the preamble to the charter granting the said province to him, fully confirms, and which runs thus, viz. " Whereas our trusty and well-beloved subject, William Penn, esquire, son and heir of Sir William Penn, deceased, (out of a commendable desire to enlarge our British empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be of benefit to us and our dominions, *as also to reduce the savage natives, by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society and Christian religion,*) hath humbly besought leave of us to transport an ample colony unto a certain country, hereinafter described, in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted; and hath likewise so humbly besought our Royal Majesty to give, grant, and confirm all the said country, with certain privileges and jurisdictions, requisite for the good government and safety of the said country and colony to him and his heirs for ever."

In several of his letters, written during the time that he was occupied in preparing for the settlement and govern-

ment of the province in question, he further expresses himself in relation to this subject, as may be seen by the following extracts.

In a letter addressed to his friends generally, he says,

“ And because I have been somewhat exercised at times about the nature and end of government among men, it is reasonable to expect that I should endeavour to establish a just and righteous one in *this province, that others may take example by it*—truly this my heart desires. For the nations want a *precedent*; and till vice and corrupt manners be impartially rebuked and punished, and till virtue and sobriety be cherished, the wrath of God will hang over nations. I do, therefore, desire the Lord’s wisdom to guide me, and those that may be concerned with me; that we may do the thing that is truly wise and just.”

To a particular friend in England, he thus writes in 1681:

“ For my country,” meaning Pennsylvania, “ I eyed the Lord in obtaining it, and more was I drawn inward to look to him, and to owe it to his hand and power, than to any other way; I have so obtained it, and desire to keep it, that I may not be unworthy of his love; but do that which may answer his kind Providence, and serve his truth and people, that an example may be set up to the nations; there may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment.”

In connexion with our present subject, it is peculiarly interesting to mark the course of William Penn’s conduct towards the aborigines in his new position, as proprietary of Pennsylvania.

Among “ Certain Conditions, or Concessions, agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the same province,” we find the following:—

“ No. 12. And forasmuch as it is usual with the planters to overreach the poor natives of the country in trade, by goods not being good of the kind, or debased with mixtures,

with which they are sensibly aggrieved, it is agreed, whatever is sold to the Indians, in consideration of their furs, shall be sold in the market-place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad; if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good, that the natives may not be abused nor provoked.

“No. 13. That no man shall, by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong an Indian, but he shall incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow-planter; and if any Indian shall abuse, in word or deed, any planter of this province, that he shall not be his own judge upon the Indian, but he shall make his complaint to the Governor of the province, or his Lieutenant or deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his power, take care with the king of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction be made to the said injured planter.

“No. 14. That all differences between the planters and the natives shall also be ended by twelve men, that is, by six planters and six natives; that so we may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing all occasions of heart-burnings and mischief.

“No. 15. That the Indians shall have liberty to do all things relating to improvement of their ground, and providing sustenance for their families, that any of the planters shall enjoy.”

In the autumn of the year 1681 three ships full of passengers set sail for Pennsylvania. In one of these was William Markham, a relation of the Proprietary, and whom he had appointed his Deputy Governor, intending him for his secretary when he himself should arrive in the colony. Several commissioners, appointed for the purpose of conferring with the Indians respecting the sale of their lands, and to make with them a league of peace, accompanied William Markham. They were strongly enjoined to treat the natives with all possible humanity, justice, and candour; and were entrusted by William Penn with the following letter to the

Indians, which deserves the perusal of the reader, as it is remarkably adapted to the comprehension of uncultivated minds, and is characterised by much plainness, simplicity, and kindness.

“ London, the 18th of the 8th month, 1681.

“ MY FRIENDS,

“ There is a great God and power that hath made the world, and all things therein, to whom you and I, and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world. This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and help, and do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world, and the king of the country, where I live, hath given me a great province therein ; but I desire to enjoy it *with your love and consent*, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends ; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us, not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the world ? Now, I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that have been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you, which I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudgings and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard towards you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life ; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall, in all things, behave themselves accordingly ; and, if in anything any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides ; that, by

no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

"I shall shortly come to you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters, in the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them, and the people, and receive these *presents* and *tokens*, which I have sent you, as a testimony of my *good will* to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

"I am, your loving Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

For a considerable time William Penn had been making preparation for his voyage to America, which being at last accomplished, he sailed with about one hundred of his friends from London on the 1st of the 7th month (old style), 1682; and after a voyage of about seven weeks, landed at Newcastle, and legally took possession of the country. After this he visited New York, Long Island, and the Jerseys; and then proceeded to Upland, now Chester, where he called an Assembly which lasted three days, at which all the laws agreed upon in England, with the addition of nineteen others, were passed in due form; making in all fifty-nine, the fifteenth of which, provided "against selling or exchanging of rum, brandy, or other strong liquors to the Indians." After this he paid a visit to Lord Baltimore, the proprietary of Maryland, in order to fix and settle the boundaries between that and his own province; which, however, was not at that time accomplished.

During this infant state of the colony, the duties which devolved on the Governor were very onerous. "I am," he says, in reference to the multiplicity of his engagements at this period, "day and night spending my life, my time, my money, and am not enriched by this greatness; costs in getting, settling, transportation, and maintenance, now in a public manner, at my own charge, duly considered, to say

nothing of my hazard, and the distance I am from a considerable estate, and, which is more, my dear wife and poor children." Whilst these important concerns thus occupied his attention, he was not slothful in the exercise of his gift as a minister: in regard to labours of this kind he thus speaks:—"I have been also at New York, Long Island, East Jersey, and Maryland, in which I have had good and eminent service for the Lord."

William Penn being now returned from Maryland to Coaquannoc, the Indian name for the spot on which Philadelphia now stands, the time had arrived when, by a mutual understanding between the Indians and himself, he was personally to confirm a treaty of peace with them, and settle for the purchase of lands. This treaty was that great and memorable one, in which a firm league of peace was reciprocally concluded between them; and which has won the admiration and praise, of all unprejudiced, sound-thinking, and reflective minds; as being a transaction consonant with the feelings of humanity and an expansive benevolence, and in unison also with the principles of justice and a sound national policy, and alike worthy of the Christian and the statesman. The Indian tribes that met William Penn at this famous treaty, are generally supposed to be those called the River Indians, chiefly of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware stock. Besides these, there were the Mingoes and other Susquehanna tribes, who came to solicit his friendship. The number of Indians assembled was probably altogether considerable.

Of the ceremonies which took place on this interesting occasion, a pretty full account will be found in the extract which we have made from William Penn's letter to "The Free Society of Traders," but the authentic accounts which are known to exist of most of the other particulars respecting it, are, we regret to say, but of a very limited kind, of which the following extract from the speech of Governor Gordon to the Indians, at a treaty held at Conestogo in 1728, with

several nations of them, who then resided on the Susquehanna, is the most important, viz.

“ My brethren !—You have been faithful to your leagues with us ! * * * * Your leagues with William Penn and his governors are in writing on record, that our children and our children’s children may have them in everlasting remembrance. And we know that you preserve the memory of those things, amongst you, by telling them to your children, and they again to the next generation ; so that they remain stamped on your minds, never to be forgotten. The chief heads or strongest links of this chain I find are these nine, to wit,—

1st. “ That all William Penn’s people or Christians, and all the Indians should be brethren, as the children of one father, joined together as with one heart, one head, and one body.

2d. “ That all paths should be open and free to both Christians and Indians.

3d. “ That the doors of the Christians’ houses should be open to the Indians, and the houses of the Indians open to the Christians, and that they should make each other welcome as their friends.

4th. “ That the Christians should not believe any false rumours or reports of the Indians, nor the Indians believe any such rumours or reports of the Christians, but should first come as brethren to inquire of each other ; and that both Christians and Indians, when they have any such false reports of their brethren, should bury them as in a bottomless pit.

5th. “ That if the Christians hear any ill news that may be to the hurt of the Indians, or the Indians hear any such ill-news, that may be to the injury of the Christians, they should acquaint each other with it speedily, as true friends and brethren.

6th. “ That the Indians should do no manner of harm to

the Christians, nor to their creatures, nor the Christians do any hurt to the Indians, but each treat the other as brethren.

7th. "But as there are wicked people in all nations, if either Indians or Christians should do any harm to each other, complaint should be made of it by the persons suffering, that right might be done, and when satisfaction is made, the injury or wrong should be forgot, and be buried as in a bottomless pit.

8th. "That the Indians should in all things assist the Christians, and the Christians assist the Indians against all wicked people that would disturb them.

9th. "And lastly, that both Christians and Indians should acquaint their children with this league and firm chain of friendship made between them, and that it should always be made stronger and stronger, and be kept bright and clean without rust or spot, between our children and our children's children, while the creeks and rivers run, and while the sun, moon, and stars endure."

The nine articles thus recited by Governor Gordon, are, he observes, only the "chief heads" of this transaction; what the other particulars may be to which he has made no reference, is now entirely a matter of conjecture, and it is much to be regretted that he did not give the whole. The "writing on record" to which he alludes was, no doubt, the roll of parchment containing the great treaty of 1682, which was shown by the Mingoës, Shawnese, and other Indians to Governor Keith, at a conference in 1722. Notwithstanding these strong testimonies to the existence of a written agreement having been entered into on this occasion, some modern writers have, nevertheless, doubted the fact, but whether in ignorance of these testimonies or not, we cannot say. That a written agreement, however, did about this time take place between William Penn and the Indians appears to be further confirmed by an allusion which an Indian chief made to it, at a treaty held at Philadelphia, in the year 1742, when, in addressing the Delawares, who were then present, he said,

“ we have seen with our eyes a deed signed by nine of your ancestors above fifty years ago for this very land.” At another time, during this treaty of 1742, the same chief, on again referring to this circumstance, said, “ their ancestors had sold it by a deed under their hands and seals to the proprietaries for a valuable consideration upwards of fifty years ago.”

Governor Gordon, in his History of Pennsylvania, says, that “ a copy of the conference held at the making of this treaty, was once in the office of the secretary of this commonwealth, since Mr. R. Conyngham assures us, that he discovered an envelope in a bundle of papers there, relating to the Shawnese Indians, with the following endorsement ; ‘ Minutes of the Indian Conference, in relation to the great Treaty made with William Penn, at the Big Tree, Shackamaxon, on the 14th of the tenth month, 1682.’ In order to obtain more particular information upon this subject, Conyngham was written to respecting it, who returned the following answer.

“ The endorsement on the envelope which you found in page 603, of Gordon’s History of Pennsylvania, is a faithful copy of the original (I believe) at Harrisburgh. I made some inquiry as to the circumstances of its being thus found in the closet, and received the following information. Some years since, the Indian treaties were transcribed in a book for their better preservation, and this envelope of one of them was carefully folded up, and placed in the closet with the historical papers. The Indian treaty, said to have been contained in this envelope, is dated June 15, 1682, and was the result of a conference, held under the elm-tree at Shackamaxon, between William Markham, the commissioners of William Penn (William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen) and the Shackamaxine tribe of Indians. The treaty was in the open air, but signed in Captain Lassee Cocke’s house, fronting the Delaware, in Shackamaxon. The land granted was to begin at a white oak, on the ground in the

tenure of John Wood, called by him Grey Stones. The minutes of the conference in June, and also those of the conference in December, 1682, are not to be found."

Most of the other scattered particulars respecting this treaty, with which we are acquainted, having been collected by Thomas Clarkson, we shall give them as they stand recorded in his biography of William Penn. They are as follows, viz.

"The time now arrived when he was to confirm his treaty with the Indians. His religious principles, which led him to the practice of the most scrupulous morality, did not permit him to look upon the king's patent, or legal possession according to the laws of England, as sufficient to establish his right to the country, without purchasing it by fair and open bargain of the natives, to whom only it properly belonged. He had, therefore, instructed commissioners, who had arrived in America before him, to buy it of the latter, and to make with them at the same time a treaty of eternal friendship. This the commissioners had done; and this was the time when, by mutual agreement between him and the Indian chiefs, it was to be publicly ratified. He proceeded, therefore, accompanied by his friends, consisting of men, women, and young persons of both sexes, to Coaquannoc, the Indian name for the place where Philadelphia now stands. On his arrival there he found the sachems and their tribes assembling. They were seen in the woods as far as the eye could carry, and looked frightful, both on account of their number and their arms. The Quakers are reported to have been but a handful in comparison, and these without any weapon, so that dismay and terror had come upon them, had they not confided in the righteousness of their cause.

"It is much to be regretted, when we have accounts of minor treaties between William Penn and the Indians, that in no historian I can find an account of this, though so many mention it, and though all concur in considering it as the most glorious of any in the annals of the world. There are, however, relations in Indian speeches, and traditions in Quaker families descended from those who were present on the occasion, from which we may learn something concerning it. It appears that, though the parties were to assemble at Coaquannoc, the treaty was made a little higher up, at Shackamaxon. Upon this Kensington now stands, the houses of which may be considered as the suburbs of Philadelphia. There was at Shackamaxon an elm-tree of a prodigious size. To this the leaders on both sides repaired, approaching each other under its widely-spreading branches. William Penn appeared in his usual clothes. He had no crown, sceptre, mace, sword, halberd, or any insignia of eminence. He was distinguished

only by wearing a sky-blue sash* round his waist, which was made of silk net-work, and which was of no longer apparent dimensions than an officer's military sash, and much like it, except in colour. On his right was Colonel Markham, his relation and secretary, and on his left Friend Pearson, after whom followed a train of Quakers. Before him were carried various articles of merchandise, which, when they came near the sachems, were spread upon the ground. He held a roll of parchment, containing the confirmation of the treaty of purchase and amity in his hand. One of the sachems, who was the chief of them, then put upon his own head a kind of chaplet, in which appeared a small horn. This, as among the primitive Eastern nations, and according to Scripture language, was an emblem of kingly power; and whenever the chief, who had a right to wear it, put it on, it was understood that the place was made sacred, and the persons of all present inviolable. Upon putting on this horn the Indians threw down their bows and arrows, and seated themselves around their chiefs, in the form of a half-moon, upon the ground. The chief sachem then announced to William Penn, by means of an interpreter, that the nations were ready to hear him.

“Having been thus called upon, he began. The Great Spirit, he said, who made him and them, who ruled the heaven and the earth, and who knew the innermost thoughts of man, knew that he and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. It was not their custom to use hostile weapons against their fellow-creatures, for which reason they had come unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was to be taken on either side, but all was to be openness, brotherhood, and love. After these and other words, he unrolled the parchment, and by means of the same interpreter conveyed to them, article by article, the conditions of the purchase, and the words of the compact then made for their eternal union. Among other things, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits, even in the territory they had alienated, for it was to be common to them and the English. They were to have the same liberty to do all things therein, relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families, which the English had. If any disputes should arise between the two, they should be settled by twelve persons, half of whom should be English and half Indians. He then paid them for the land, and made them many presents besides from the merchandise which had been

* This sash, a few years since, was in the possession of Thomas Kett, of Seething Hall, near Norwich.

spread before them. Having done this, he laid the roll of parchment on the ground, observing again that the ground should be common to both people. He then added, that he would not do as the Marylanders did, that is, call them children or brothers only ; for often parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes would differ ; neither would he compare the friendship between him and them to a chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it ; but he should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts. He then took up the parchment, and presented it to the sachem who wore the horn in the chaplet, and desired him and the other sachems to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he had remained himself with them to repeat it.

“ That William Penn must have done and said a great deal more on this interesting occasion than has now been represented, there can be no doubt. What I have advanced may be depended upon : but I am not warranted in going further. It is also to be regretted that the speeches of the Indians on this memorable day have not come down to us. It is only known, that they solemnly pledged themselves, according to their country manner, to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon should endure. Thus ended this famous treaty, of which more has been said in the way of praise than of any other ever transmitted to posterity. ‘ This,’ says Voltaire, ‘ was the only treaty between those people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never broken.’ ‘ William Penn thought it right,’ says the Abbé Raynal, ‘ to obtain an additional right by a fair and open purchase from the aborigines ; and thus he signalized his arrival by an act of equity which made his person and principles equally beloved. Here it is the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, melancholy, and horror which the whole of it, but particularly that of the European settlements in America, inspires.’ Noble, in his continuation of Granger, says, ‘ He occupied his domains by actual bargain and sale with the Indians. This fact does him infinite honour, as no blood was shed, and the Christian and the barbarian met as brothers. Penn has thus taught us to respect the lives and properties of the most unenlightened nations.’ ‘ Being now returned,’ says Robert Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, ‘ from Maryland to Coaquannoc, he purchased lands of the Indians, whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness. It was at this time when he first entered personally into that friendship with them, which ever afterwards continued between them, and which for the space of more than seventy years was never interrupted, or so long as the Quakers retained power

in the government. His conduct in general to these people was so engaging, his justice in particular so conspicuous, and the counsel and advice which he gave them were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them; and the sense thereof made such deep impressions on their understandings, that his name and memory will scarcely ever be effaced while they continue a people.”*

The infant colony of Pennsylvania was now fast peopling, and principally by members† of our own religious society from Great Britain and Ireland. During the first year, after the proper arrangements for a regular settlement was made, from twenty to thirty vessels, having about three thousand passengers, arrived in the province; and in this and the two next succeeding years, vessels to the number of fifty arrived with passengers or settlers, some of whom were from Holland and Germany; so that it was computed, that in about two years from its commencement there had emigrated about six thousand persons. In 1684 Oldmixon states the number to be about seven thousand, of which two thousand five hundred were inhabitants of the new city of Philadelphia, occupying therein nearly three hundred houses. No less than

* The great elm-tree under which this treaty was made became celebrated from this day. When, in the American war, the British general Simcoe was quartered at Kensington, he so respected it, that when his soldiers were cutting down every tree for fire-wood, he placed a sentinel under it, that not a branch of it might be touched. In the year 1811 it was blown down, when its trunk was split into wood, and cups and other articles were made of it, to be kept as memorials of it.

† The testimonies to the fact that most of the early settlers in Pennsylvania were Friends, are numerous; and that they continued for a long period to form the main body of the settlers we may gather from the following relation of a writer in 1741, viz., “The inhabitants being at first mostly Quakers, and so they continued, it was some time before there was a Church built after the manner of those in England. There are above one thousand two hundred of the inhabitants that are of this congregation, who have for some years had the benefit of an organ; and though it looked and sounded strange to the Quakers at first, yet they are now so far reconciled to it, as to bear with their neighbours having it without grumbling.”

twenty townships, it appears, at this date had already been established throughout the province.

Among the German settlers, were some Friends from Cresheim, a town near Worms, who had been convinced of our religious principles through the instrumentality of William Ames. Most of these settled six miles from Philadelphia, at a place which they named Germantown.

During the early progress of the settlement of this province, as in the neighbouring ones of East and West Jersey, the colonists underwent many privations, and much personal suffering; notwithstanding the precaution which many of them took, in bringing provisions and other necessities with them. Many, who had property, carried out with them houses in frame, with tools, implements, and furniture. These realized the benefit of their precaution; whilst others, who were not so well provided, frequently had no more than the shelter of a chosen tree, and many betook themselves to the high banks of the river Delaware, in which they dug caves for their habitations during the winter. As to food, they were provided for much beyond what might have been expected, considering that, with the exception of a narrow strip of land about two miles in breadth, extending along the course of the river, the country was an entire wilderness, producing nothing for the support of human life but wild fruits, birds, and animals of the woods. Divine Providence seems, in a remarkable degree, to have watched over our early Friends in their settlement in this land; and often, we are informed, did many of them in their old age speak of this manifestation of the Lord's protecting care, in preserving them through the difficulties with which they were surrounded. The following extract from the testimony of one of them, in illustration of this, will be read with interest.

“ The testimony of Richard Townsend, showing the providential hand of God to him and others, from the first settlement of Pennsylvania to this day, (about the year 1727.)

“ Whereas, King Charles the Second, in the year 1681,

was pleased to grant this province to William Penn and his heirs for ever ; which act seemed to be an act of Providence to many religious, good people ; and the proprietor, William Penn, being one of the people called Quakers, and in good esteem among them and others, many were inclined to embark along with him for the settlement of this place.

“ To that end, in the year 1682, several ships being provided, I found a concern on my mind to embark with them, with my wife and child ; and about the latter end of the sixth month, having settled my affairs in London, where I dwelt, I went on board the ship *Welcome*, Robert Greenaway commander, in company with my worthy friend William Penn, whose good conversation was very advantageous to all the company.

“ At our arrival we found it a wilderness ; the chief inhabitants were Indians and some Swedes, who received us in a friendly manner ; and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in a particular manner, in that, provisions were found for us by the Swedes and Indians, at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts, that were inhabited before.

“ Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our religious worship ; and, in order thereunto, we had several meetings in the houses of the inhabitants, and one boarded meeting-house was set up where the city was to be, near Delaware ; and, as we had nothing but love and goodwill in our hearts one to another, we had very comfortable meetings from time to time ; and, after our meeting was over, we assisted each other in building little houses for our shelter.

“ After some time I set up a mill on Chester Creek, which I brought, ready framed, from London, which served for grinding of corn and sawing of boards, and was of great use to us. Besides I, with Joshua Tittery, made a net, and caught great quantities of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others ; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three

thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about one shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and sixpence per bushel.

“ And as our worthy proprietor treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As, in other countries, the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

“ As people began to spread and improve their lands, the country became more fruitful, so that those who came after us were plentifully supplied, and with what we abounded we began a small trade abroad. And as Philadelphia increased, vessels were built and many employed. Both country and trade have been increasing wonderfully to this day; so that from a wilderness, the Lord by his good hand of providence, hath made it a fruitful field; on which to look back and observe all the steps, would exceed my present purpose; yet, being now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and having been in this country near forty-six years, and my memory pretty clear concerning the rise and progress of the province, I can do no less than return praises to the Almighty, when I look back and consider his bountiful hand, not only in temporals, but in the great increase of our meetings, wherein he hath many times manifested his great loving-kindness, in reaching to and convincing many persons of the principles of truth: and those that were already convinced and continued faithful, were not only blessed with plenty of the fruits of the earth, but also with the dew of heaven. I am engaged in my spirit to supplicate the continuance thereof to the present rising generation; that as God hath blessed their parents, the same blessing may remain on their offspring to the end

of time ; that it may be so is the hearty desire and prayer of their ancient and loving friend,

“ RICHARD TOWNSEND.”

It is recorded, in a manuscript account of John Scarborough, a Friend of London, who emigrated to this colony, that wild pigeons came in such numbers, that the air was sometimes darkened by them, and flying low, were knocked down in large numbers by the settlers who had no other means of taking them. The supply from this source was sometimes so abundant, that they could not use them all whilst fresh, and therefore salted considerable quantities of them. The Indians, says this account, “ were remarkably kind and very assistant to them in divers respects, frequently supplying them with such provisions as they could spare.” John Scarborough left with his son a strict charge, that “ when it should be in his power, to be kind to the poor Indians for the favours he had received from them.”

As the civilizing and Christianizing of the Indian tribes was a subject in which William Penn felt a deep and abiding interest, he often went on journeys of discovery into the interior, principally in order to become more acquainted with their character, genius, customs, and language, and with a view also of promoting love and friendship between them and the settlers. Before he left Pennsylvania for England in 1684, he had made treaties of friendship and alliance with no less than nineteen distinct tribes. He frequently held conferences with them, in which he sought to imbue their minds with a sense of the benefits of Christianity. He also laboured much to impress upon them the necessity of abandoning the use of spirituous liquors. “ Nothing,” says Clarkson, “ could exceed his love for these poor people, or his desire of instructing them, so as to bring them by degrees to the knowledge of the Christian religion ; and in this great work he spared no expense, though whatever he bestowed in

this way came solely out of his own pocket." Oldmixon says, "that he laid out several thousand pounds to instruct, support, and oblige them. The consequence was, on their part, an attachment to him and his successors, which was never broken."

The aborigines have been often treated as though they were wild and irreclaimable savages. They have been often shamefully deceived, insulted, trampled upon, pillaged, and massacred. Their resistance to oppression, after long and patient endurance, has been again and again appealed to as evidence of their cruel and revengeful spirit. But how seldom have Christian dispositions been recommended to them by example? How seldom has the attempt been made to win them over, not by force, but by love? It is indeed melancholy to reflect that the superior knowledge and acquirements of their white brethren, instead of being employed in setting forth a noble example of mercy and truth, has seemed in too many instances only to give increased energy to the efforts of cruelty and avarice.

The Christian and candid manner of William Penn towards the Indians appears to have made a deep and lasting impression on their minds, and his name and memory were held in grateful remembrance by succeeding generations of them, being carefully handed down by tradition from father to son. An instance of this was shown in a conference which Governor Keith had with the Five Nations in 1721, when their chief speaker said, "They should never forget the counsel that William Penn gave them; and that though they could not write as the English did, yet they could keep in the memory what was said in their councils." At a treaty renewed in the following year, they mention his name with much affection, calling him a "good man," and saying, "we are glad to hear the former treaties which we have made with William Penn repeated to us again." At a treaty held with the Six Nations at Philadelphia, in 1742; Canassatego, chief of the Onondagoes, said, "We are all

very sensible of the kind regard which that good man, William Penn, had for all the Indians." Again, at a treaty held in 1756, a Delaware chief thus expresses himself, " Brother Onas, and the people of Pennsylvania, we rejoice to hear from you that you are willing to renew the *old good understanding*, and that you call to mind *the first treaties* of friendship made by Onas, our great friend, deceased, with our forefathers, when himself and his people first came over here. We take hold of these treaties with both our hands, and desire you will do the same, that a good understanding and true friendship may be re-established. Let us both take hold of these treaties with all our strength, we beseech you; we on our side will certainly do it." On concluding a peace in the same year, an Indian said, " I wish the same Good Spirit that possessed the good old man, William Penn, who was a friend to the Indians, may inspire the people of this province at this time," &c. These, with many more instances of a similar kind that have come to our knowledge, confirm us in the belief, that the exercise of a just and kind treatment towards the uncivilized classes of our fellow-beings, is sure to win their confidence and affection, and be productive to both settler and native of incalculable advantages.

William Penn, by his travels in the colony, having become well acquainted with its extent, climate, and resources; together with the disposition of the natives, and other particulars of moment to the settlers in it, drew up an account of the same for the use of " The Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania." In this account he enters minutely into details relating to the Indian tribes; and, as it contains a description of them still applicable to most of the aborigines of the North American continent, besides much information of an interesting character respecting them, we are induced to present the reader with a copy, omitting only one or two short passages of little importance.

“The natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin; of complexion, black, but by design, as the gipsies in England. They grease themselves with bears’ fat clarified, and using no defence against sun or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looking Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white, and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

“Their language is lofty yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew, in signification full; like short-hand in writing *one word* serveth in the place of *three*, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion, and I must say, that I know not a language spoken in Europe that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs. For instance, *Octocockon*, *Rancocas*, *Oricton*, *Shak*, *Marian*, *Poquesien*; all which are names of places, and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, *anna* is mother, *issimus* a brother, *netcap*, friend; *usque oret*, very good; *pane*, bread; *metsa*, eat; *mutta*, no; *hatta*, to have; *payo*, to come. *Sepassen*, *Passijon*, the names of places. *Tamane*, *Secane*, *Menause*, *Secatereus*, are the names of persons. If one ask them for anything they have not, they will answer *matta ne hatta*, which to translate is *not I have*, instead of *I have not*.*

“Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said, I will begin with children; so soon as they are born they wash them in water, and while very young and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth

* The following being the Lord’s Prayer in the language of the Six Nation Indians, will further illustrate the character of the Indian language. Soundwauncha, caurounkyauga, tehseetaroan, saulwoneyousta, es a, sawaneyou, okettauhsela, ehneauwoung, na, caurounkyauga, nugh, woushauga, neattewehnesalauga, taugwaunatoronoantoughsick, toantan-gwelceewheyoustaug, cheneeyeut, chaquatauleywhheyoustanna, tough-sautaugwaussareneh, tawantottenaugaloushtoungga, nasawne, sacheau-taugwass, contehvalohaunzaikau, esa, sawauneyou, esa, sashautzta, esa, soundwasoung, cheneneauhaungwa, auwen.

of the child, and swaddle it first upon the board to make it straight ; wherefore all Indians have flat heads, and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly ; they wear only a small clout round their waist till they are big ; if boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen ; then they hunt, and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry, else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens ; and they do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old, for the wives are the true servants of the husbands ; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

“ When the young women are fit for marriage they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen but when they please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen ; if men, seventeen and eighteen, they are rarely elder.

“ Their houses are mats or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man ; they lie on reeds or grass. In travel, they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

“ Their diet is maize or Indian Corn, divers ways prepared ; sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call *homine* ; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat ; they have likewise several sorts of beans and pease that are good nourishment, and the woods and rivers are their larder.

“ If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or *wigwam*, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an *itah*, which is as much as to say, *good be to you* ; and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright : it may be they speak not a word, but observe all that passes. If you give them any thing to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask ; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

“ They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practised among them : in either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians.

“ But in liberality they excel ; nothing is too good for their friend ; give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks : light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent. The most merry creatures that live ; they feast and dance perpetually ; they never have much, nor want much : wealth circulateth like the blood, all parts partake : and

though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land : the pay or presents I made them were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighbouring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what and to whom they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person, for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity which is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects : and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little, and the reason is, a little contents them : in this they are sufficiently revenged on us, if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery suits and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live ; their pleasure feeds them ; I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread everywhere : they eat twice a day, morning and evening ; their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially ; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep : that is their cry *Some more, and I will go to sleep* : but, when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

“ In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give anything, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times a *teran*, or decoction of some roots in spring-water ; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love ; their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year ; they are choice of the graves of their dead, for, lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

“ These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the tradition of it ; yet they believe in a God and *immortality*, without the help of metaphysics ; for they say, ‘ there is a great king that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them : and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again.’ Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico : their sacrifice is their first fruits ; the first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but

with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and 'by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another; there have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will; I was at one myself. Their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes; and after that they fall to dance. But they that go must carry a small present in their money, it may be sixpence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as *gold*, the white, *silver*; they call it all *wampum*.

" Their government is by kings, which they call *sachama*, and those by succession, but always of the mother's side: for instance, the children of him that is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose *sons* (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign; for no woman inherits: the reason they render for this way of descent, is that their issue may not be spurious.

" Every king hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people: nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them; and which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade; their order is thus: the king sits in the middle of an half-moon, and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger part, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me: he stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me, then took me by the hand and told me, ' He was ordered by his king to speak to me; and that now it was not he, but the king that spoke, because what he should say, was the king's mind.' He first prayed me ' to excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council before they resolve: and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay.' Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which

now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the old grave, the young reverend in their deportment: they speak little, but fervently, and with elegance: I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise that outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of 'kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love, as long as the sun gave light.' Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the *sachamakers* or kings; first to tell them what was done: next, to charge and command them, 'to love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government: that many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong.' At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way.

"The justice they have is pecuniary; in case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts, and presents of their *wampum*, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they can render is, 'That she breedeth children, which men cannot do.' It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and if drunk they forgive it saying, 'It was the *drink*, and not the *man*, that abused them.'

"We have agreed that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them: the worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived *their* sight, with all their pretensions to an *higher* manifestation: what good then might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the natives, by a fixed obedience to their *greater* knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

"For their original I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race, I mean of the stock of the *ten tribes*, and that for the following reasons; first, they were to go to a 'land not *planted* or *known*,' which to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and he that intended that extraordinary judg-

ment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's-place or Berry-street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in *rites*, they reckon by *moons*; they offer their *first fruits*, they have a kind of *feast of tabernacles*; they are said to lay their *altar* upon *twelve stones*; their *mourning* a *year*, *customs of women*, with many things that do not now occur."

The concern so deeply felt by George Fox for improving the condition of the Indian races, and for instructing them in the great and important truths of the Christian religion, was, as we have seen, one in which William Penn fully participated, and in which he bestowed no ordinary degree of labour. And it is satisfactory to find that it early engaged the attention and interest of the body of Friends in that land. In their Yearly Meeting, held at Burlington, in West Jersey, in 1685, the subject obtained much serious consideration; and some active steps were taken upon it, an account of which we give in the words of Robert Proud. "In this year, 1685," says he, in his History of Pennsylvania, "the Quakers, in their Yearly Meeting at Burlington, in West Jersey, took additional measures to prevent all persons, in their society, from selling strong liquors to the Indians. About the same time, by particular appointment, they also had a religious meeting with them, as they frequently had before; to inform and instruct them in the principles of Christianity, and the practice of a true Christian life.

"The Indians generally heard patiently what was said to them on this subject, and seemed affected with it for a time; but, for the most part, it appeared to make no very durable impression, on their minds, for the proper regulation of their passions and appetites; which, at last, too generally seemed to prevail over convictions of this nature, and their better knowledge.

"Divers preachers of this religious society, from abroad, often had meetings, and serious discourse with them, for this

purpose ; as well as those who had settled in the country ; particularly, Samuel Jennings, Thomas Olive, William Penn, and others, from time to time, laboured to inculcate into them a just sense of the benefit of a Christian life and conduct."

Not long after the Yearly Meeting had thus, in its collective capacity, taken up the subject of the religious improvement of the aborigines of the country, we find George Fox, who seemed ever alive to circumstances calculated to promote and establish truth and righteousness in the earth, thus addressing Friends, in reference to the interesting engagement of Indian instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, viz. :—

1687. TO FRIENDS IN WEST JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA.

" If sometimes you should have some meetings with the Indian kings and their councils, to let them know the principles of truth, so that they may know the way of salvation, and the nature of true Christianity, and how that Christ hath died for them, who tasted death for every man ; and so the Gospel of salvation must be preached to every creature under heaven ; and how that Christ hath enlightened them, who enlightens all that come into the world ; and God hath poured out his Spirit upon all flesh ; and so the Indians must receive God's Spirit ; for the grace of God which brings salvation hath appeared to all men : and so let them know that they have a day of salvation, grace, and favour of God offered unto them ; if they will receive it, it will be their blessing."

1689. TO THE QUARTERLY AND YEARLY MEETINGS OF FRIENDS IN PENNSYLVANIA, NEW ENGLAND, VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, THE JERSEYS, CAROLINA, AND OTHER PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA.

" Be valiant for God's holy pure truth, and spread it abroad, among both professors and profane, and the Indians. And you should write over once a year, from all your Yearly

Meetings to the Yearly Meeting here, concerning your diligence in the truth, and of its spreading, and of people's receiving it, both professors and profane, and the Indians."

And a little before his death he thus writes :

1690. TO FRIENDS IN THE MINISTRY THAT WERE GONE INTO AMERICA.

" Dear Friends and Brethren, Ministers, Exhorters, and Admonishers, that are gone into America and the islands thereaway. Stir up the gift of God in you, and the pure mind, and improve your talents, that ye may be the light of the world, a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid. Let your light shine among the Indians, the blacks, and the whites, that ye may answer the truth in them, and bring them to the standard and ensign that God hath set up, Christ Jesus. And Friends, be not negligent, but keep up your negro's meetings and your family meetings; and have meetings with the Indian kings, and their councils and subjects everywhere, and with others. Bring them all to the baptizing and circumcising Spirit, by which they may know God, and serve and worship Him."

In one of the minutes of the Yearly Meeting of London for the year 1692, we find the following brief allusion to the gospel labours of Friends among the Indians, viz., " A letter from the Yearly Meeting at Burlington to this Meeting, dated the 10th of 7th month, 1690, that ministering Friends there have visited the neighbouring countries, and some have visited some of the nearest plantations of Indians."

Another reference to the labours of our early Friends in preaching to these benighted sons of the forest the glad tidings of the gospel, is in an old American manuscript volume, in which, among several notices of ministers in our Society who visited Pennsylvania from the year 1698 to the year 1715, the visit of Thomas Turner, of Coggeshall, in Essex, is thus recorded. " Thomas Turner, an ancient Friend, whose testimony was that the enemies should be

scattered, and the truth come into dominion. He had meetings with the Indians in their places of abode, and was very loving, and the Indians had great regard and kindness for him."

In the year 1699, Thomas Story, who was on terms of much intimacy with William Penn, and who took much interest in his transatlantic concerns, visited America in the capacity of a minister of the gospel, and ultimately settled in Pennsylvania, where he remained until the year 1714. Soon after his arrival in the province, he was elected one of the council, and in 1701 was appointed the first recorder of the city of Philadelphia. During his stay in Pennsylvania, his good abilities were, in many ways, eminently useful to the infant colony; "he was," says an historian of the province, "of good and great service to the country for a number of years, both in a religious and civil capacity; discharging the different and important offices which he held, with great honour, skill, and integrity."

Like his friend William Penn, Thomas Story "loved the Indians" and in unison with the advice of George Fox, preached "the way of salvation and the nature of true Christianity" to them. In his journal he has occasionally made allusions to labours of this description, from which, for the year 1699, whilst travelling in Virginia, the following is extracted.

"We had a good passage over the river [Pamunkey] by the ferry, and on the other side went into a house, for it came on so much thunder and rain; and there we heard of an Indian town, about a mile off, on the side of the river Mattaponi, and we went to see them.

"They are the Chickahomine Indians; and, as to their town, it consisted of about eleven wigwams, or houses, made of the bark of trees, and contained so many families: we were directed to their sagamor, or chief; and when we went to his door, he came out with a piece of cloth about his middle, but otherwise all naked, and invited us in; and, we

being set down, several of his people came to look upon us, and, among them, one who could speak some English.

“After a time of silence, and the company increased, we asked him if they were all there, for we desired to see as many of them together as we could ; which, being interpreted to the sagamor, who was a grave, serious, and wary old man, he seemed to be under some suspicion of us, and what we might mean by desiring to see them all together ; we being wholly strangers to them.

“Then I, falling under some concern of mind, and observing a fear in them, informed them by the interpreter, “that we did not come among them for any hurt to them, or gain to ourselves ; but, being lately arrived from England, had a desire to see them ; for we loved the Indians, and had something to say to them concerning the great God, who made the heavens, the sun, moon, earth, and all that dwell therein, Englishmen, Indians, and all nations ; that he loves all good English, and good Indians, and other good people everywhere.’

“And then they seemed a little more calm and settled in their countenances ; and my companion spake to them concerning the immortality of the soul ; and that God hath placed a witness in the heart of every man, which approves that which is good, and reproves that which is evil.

“The sagamor then pointed to his head, and said, that was treacherous, or fallacious ; but, pointing to his breast, said, it was true and sweet there. And then he sent forth his breath, as if he had poured out his soul unto death ; and signing up towards heaven with his hand, raised a bold, cheerful, and loud ‘hey,’ as if the soul ascended thither in a triumphant manner ; and then, pointing to his body, from thence put his hand towards the earth, to demonstrate his opinion, that the body remains there, when the soul is departed and ascended.”

“The next morning we set forward for Rhode Island, and in our way called at a little ordinary, where there was an

Indian woman spinning upon a wheel; and after a while, I found a concern for her in my mind, and made her stop her wheel, and then spake to her of the witness of God in her, which discovered to her good and evil, that dictates the former, and reproves the latter. To which she confessed, and said, with tears in her eyes, that she knew better than she practised, and was very humble."

In the year 1699, William Penn, after an absence of about five years, again visited the colony, in company with his wife and family; much to the satisfaction of his friends resident in it. Among the numerous engagements which occupied his attention soon after he landed, that of taking fresh means for promoting the good of the natives and Negroes was one; accordingly we find him proposing, at the first Monthly Meeting which took place in Philadelphia in 1700, that some steps should be adopted for forwarding this object. In bringing the subject thus before his friends, he stated that his mind had long been engaged, for the benefit and welfare of the Indians and Negroes; and expressed an earnest desire, that Friends might fully discharge their duty to this class of their fellow-beings; more particularly that part of it which had a reference to their spiritual advancement. The result of the deliberations of the Meeting in the matter was, the appointment of a meeting, more particularly for the Negroes, once in every month; and also the adoption of a course for more frequent intercourse with the Indians, by means of interpreters; which William Penn offered to provide the Meeting with. The minute made on this occasion runs thus:—"Our dear Friend and governor having laid before this meeting a concern that hath laid upon his mind for some time concerning the Negroes and Indians, that Friends ought to be very careful in discharging a good conscience towards them in all respects, but more especially for the good of their souls, and that they might, as frequent as may be, come to meetings upon first days; upon consideration whereof, this meeting concludes to appoint a meeting

for the Negroes to be kept once a month, &c., and that their masters give notice thereof in their own families, and be present with them at the said meetings as frequent as may be." As early as the pressing engagements of William Penn would permit, he left Philadelphia, for his residence at Pennsbury. One of the first objects whilst here was, to carry out the views of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, by seeking opportunities for a more frequent converse between Friends and the Indians. For this purpose, he made excursions into the interior, and it is recorded "was soon after at an Indian feast," which took place "near a beautiful spring of water, which was overhung by the branches of lofty trees. Several bucks were killed. Hot cakes were served up also of wheat and beans." With a view to carry out thoroughly the concern of the Monthly Meeting, and to cultivate an intimacy with the Indians, he invited many of them to his residence; to which Indian kings and queens with their followers came. When they came on public business or in state, it was his practice to receive them in his hall of audience; which was a large room set apart for occasions of this kind; and in which stood an oaken arm-chair, which he usually occupied at such conferences.

In the early part of the year 1701, we find that William Penn, had again left Pennsbury for Philadelphia; where he met Connoo-daghtoh, king of the Susquehanna Indians; Wopaththa, king of the Shawnese; Weewhinjough, chief of the Ganawese, inhabiting the head of Potomack river, and Ahookasough, brother of the emperor of the Five Nations, with about forty Indians in their retinue; who came to renew, by one general treaty for the whole, the good understanding which had subsisted between him and them. On this occasion he received the Indians in council, and many friendly speeches passed between them; and it was then and there agreed, that there should be for ever after, a firm and lasting peace between William Penn and his heirs, and the

said kings and chiefs, and their successors, in behalf of their respective tribes; and the following articles of agreement were solemnly ratified, and the instrument for the same, duly executed by both parties, viz.:

“Articles of agreement, indented, made, concluded, and agreed upon at Philadelphia, the 23rd day of the second month, called April, 1701, between William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, on the one part, and Connoo-daghtoh, king of the Indians, inhabiting upon and about the river Susquehanna, in the said province, and Widaagh, (alias Orettyagh,) Koqueash, and Andaggy, Junckquagh, chiefs of the said nations of Indians, and Wopaththa, king, and Lemoytungh and Pemoyajoaagh, chiefs of the nations of the Shawnese Indians, and Ahookassough, brother to the emperor, for and in behalf of the emperor, and Weewhinjough, Chequittayh, Takyewsan, and Woaprasshou, chiefs of the nations of the Indians inhabiting in and about the northern part of the river Potomack, in the said province, for and in behalf of themselves and successors, and their several nations and people on the other part, as followeth:

“That as hitherto there hath always been a good understanding and neighbourhood between the said William Penn and his lieutenants, since his first arrival in the said province, and the several nations of Indians inhabiting in and about the same, so there shall be for ever hereafter a firm and lasting peace continued between William Penn, his heirs and successors, and all the English and other Christian inhabitants of the said province, and the said kings and chiefs and their successors, and all the several people of the nations of Indians aforesaid, and that they shall for ever hereafter be as one head and one heart, and live in true friendship and amity, as one people.

“Item. That the said kings and chiefs (each for himself and his people engaging) shall at no time hurt, injure, or defraud, or suffer to be hurt, injured, or defrauded, by any of their Indians, any inhabitant or inhabitants of the said province, either their persons or estates. And that the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall not suffer to be done or committed, by any of the subjects of England within the said province, any act of hostility or violence, wrong or injury to or against any of the said Indians; but shall on both sides, at all times, readily do justice, and perform all acts and offices of friendship and goodwill, to oblige each other to a lasting peace, as aforesaid.

“Item. That all and every of the said kings and chiefs, and all and every particular of the nations under them, shall at all times behave themselves regularly and soberly, according to the laws of this government,

while they live near or among the Christian inhabitants thereof; and that the said Indians shall have the full and free privileges and immunities of all the said laws, as any other inhabitant, they duly owning and acknowledging the authority of the crown of England, and government of this province.

“Item. That none of the said Indians shall, at any time, be aiding, assisting, or abetting any other nation, whether Indians or others, that shall not at such time be in amity with the crown of England and with this government.

“Item. That if, at any time, any of the said Indians, by means of evil-minded persons and sowers of sedition, should hear any unkind or disadvantageous reports of the English, as if they had evil designs against any of the said Indians, in such cases such Indians shall send notice thereof to the said William Penn, his heirs or successors, or their lieutenants, and shall not give credence to the said reports, till by that means they shall be fully satisfied concerning the truth thereof; and that the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, or their lieutenants, shall at all times in such cases do the like by them.

“Item. That the said kings and chiefs and their successors, shall not suffer any strange nations of Indians to settle or plant on the further side of the Susquahanna, or about Potomack River, but such as are there already seated, nor bring any other Indians into any part of this province without the special approbation and permission of the said William Penn, his heirs and successors.

“Item. That for the prevention of abuses that are too frequently put upon the said Indians in trade, the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall not suffer or permit any person to trade or converse with any of the said Indians, but such as shall be first allowed and approved by an instrument under the hand and seal of him, the said William Penn, or his heirs or successors, or their lieutenants; and that the said Indians shall suffer no person whatsoever to buy or sell, or have commerce with any of them, the said Indians, but such as shall first be approved as aforesaid.

“Item. That the said Indians shall not sell or dispose of any of their skins, peltry, or furs, or any other effects of their hunting, to any person or persons whatsoever, out of the said province, nor to any other person, but such as shall be authorized to trade with them, as aforesaid. And that, for their encouragement, the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall take care to have them, the said Indians, duly furnished with all sorts of necessary goods for their use, at reasonable rates.

“Item. That the Potomack Indians aforesaid, with their colony, shall have free leave of the said William Penn to settle upon any part of Poto-

mack River, within the bounds of this province, they strictly observing and practising all and singular the articles aforesaid, to them relating.

“Item. The Indians of Conestogo, upon and about the river Susquehanna, and more especially the said Connoo-daghtoh, their king, doth fully agree to, and by these presents, absolutely ratify the bargain and sale of lands, lying near and about the said river, formerly made to the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, by a deed bearing date the 13th day of September last, under their hands and seals duly executed. And the said Connoo-daghtoh doth, for himself and his nation, covenant and agree that he will, at all times, be ready further to confirm and make good the said sale, according to the tenor of the same, and that the said Indians of Susquehanna shall answer the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, for the good behaviour and conduct of the said Potomack Indians, and for their performing the several articles herein expressed.

“Item. The said William Penn doth hereby promise for himself, his heirs and successors, that he and they will, at all times, show themselves true friends and brothers to all and every of the said Indians, by assisting them with the best of their advice, directions, and counsels, and will in all things, just and reasonable, befriend them; they behaving themselves as aforesaid, and submitting to the laws of this province in all things, as the English and other Christians therein do; to which they, the said Indians, hereby agree, and oblige themselves and their posterity for ever.

“In witness whereof, the said parties have, as a confirmation, made mutual presents to each other; the Indians in five parcels of skins, and the said William Penn in several English goods and merchandizes, as a binding pledge of the promises, never to be broken or violated; and as a further testimony thereof, have also to these presents set their hands and seals, the day and year above written.”

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, William Penn, laid before the council, the great impositions that were practised upon the unsuspecting Indians, in the way of trade; and, in conformity with the articles of the foregoing treaty, deliberated with them for the adoption of measures calculated to prevent these abuses. It was accordingly resolved, that the Indian trade should be conducted by a company of individuals, selected for their integrity, with a joint stock, under certain regulations and restrictions, more particularly in regard to spirituous liquors sold to the natives. The company was also to use all reasonable means, to bring them to a just sense of the value of the Christian religion; but more

particularly, by setting before them an example of integrity and candour, in their dealings and intercourse with them; and also to avail themselves of opportunities, for instructing them in the vital principles of it. These resolutions were, we are given to understand, carried into execution, "so far as was judged requisite or found practicable." "This," says a modern writer, "was probably the first time that trade was expressly made subservient to morals and to the promotion of the Christian religion."

Another tribe of Indians, which had not gone down to Philadelphia, with those mentioned in the preceding treaty, visited the proprietary a short time afterwards, at his residence at Pennsbury; in order to renew the treaty which he had made with them in his first visit to this country. It happened that John Richardson, who was then engaged in a religious visit to America, was at Pennsbury, at the time these Indians came; and witnessed what passed on the occasion, of this renewed treaty of alliance and friendship, between them and William Penn. He gives some account of this interview in his Journal, and though he states that he has omitted many particulars respecting it, we consider his description sufficiently interesting for a place in these pages. We subjoin an account which he has written, of a religious opportunity that he himself had with some Indians in the province, a short time afterwards. His words are these:—

"When I was at William Penn's country house, called Pennsbury, in Pennsylvania, where I staid two or three days, on one of which I was at a meeting and a marriage, and much of the other part of the time I spent in seeing (to my satisfaction) William Penn and many of the Indians (not the least of them) in council and consultation concerning their former covenants, now again revived upon William Penn's going away for England, all which was done in much calmness of temper and in an amicable way. To pass by several particulars, I may mention the following: one was, they never first broke covenant with any people; for, as one of them said, and smote his hand upon his head three times, that they did not make them there, in their heads, but, smiting his hand three times on his breast, said, they make them (*i. e.* their covenants) there, in their hearts. And again,

when William Penn and they had ended the most weighty parts for which they held their council, William Penn gave them match-coats, and some other things, with some brandy or rum, or both, which was advised by the speaker for the Indians to be put into the hand of one of their cassacks, or kings, for he knew the best how to order them ; which being done, the said king used no compliments, neither did the people nor the rest of their kings, but as the aforesaid king poured out his drams, he only made a motion with his finger, or sometimes with his eye, to the person which he intended to give the dram to ; so they came quietly, and in a solid manner, and took their drams, and passed away without either nod or bow, any further than necessity required them to stoop, who were on their feet, to him who sat on the ground or floor, as their choice and manner is ; and withal I observed (and also heard the like by others) that they did not, nor I suppose never do speak two at a time, nor interfere in the least one with another that way in all their councils, as has been observed. Their eating and drinking was in much stillness and quietness.

“ I much desire that all Christians (whether they may be such in reality or profession only) may endeavour to imitate these people in those things which are so commendable, which may be a means to prevent loss of time and expedite business, as much as may be, endeavouring to prevent above one speaking at a time in meetings of conference and of business.

“ When much of the matters were gone through, I put William Penn in mind to inquire of the interpreter if he could find some terms or words that might be intelligible to them, in a religious sense, by which he might reach the understandings of the natives, and inculcate into their minds a sense of the principles of truth, such as Christ’s manifesting himself to the inward senses of the soul by his light, grace, or Holy Spirit, with the manner of the operations and working thereof in the hearts of the children of men, and how it did reprove for evil, and minister peace and comfort to the soul in its obedience and well-doing, or as near as he could come to the substance of this in their own language. William Penn much pressed the matter upon the interpreter to do his best, in any terms that might reach their capacities, and answer the end intended ; but the interpreter would not, either by reason, as he alleged, of want of terms, or his unwillingness to meddle in religious matters, which I know not, but I rather think the latter was the main reason which obstructed him ; therefore we found nothing was like to be done according to our desires in this matter, as the interpreter was but a dark man, and, as William Penn said, a wrong man for our present purpose.

“ William Penn said, he understood they owned a superior power, and asked the interpreter what their notion was of God in their own way. The interpreter showed, by making several circles on the ground with his staff,

till he reduced the last into a small circumference, and placed, as he said, by way of representation, the Great Man (as they termed him) in the middle circle, so that he could see over all the other circles, which included all the earth. And we querying what they owned as to eternity or a future state, the interpreter said they believed when such died as were guilty of theft, swearing, lying, whoring, murder, &c., they went into a very cold country, where they had neither good fat venison, nor match-coats, which is what they use instead of clothes to cover them withal, being of one piece, in the form of a blanket, or bed-covering; but those who died clear of the aforesaid sins go into a fine warm country, where they had good fat venison, and good match-coats, things much valued by these natives. I thought, inasmuch as these poor creatures had not the knowledge of God by the scriptures as we have who are called Christians, but what knowledge they had of the Supreme Being must be by an inward sensation, or by contemplating upon the works of God in the creation, or probably from some tradition handed down from father to son, by which it appears they acknowledge a future state of rewards and punishments, the former of which they express by warmth, good clothing, and food, and the latter by nakedness, pining hunger, and piercing cold.

“I have often thought and said, when I was amongst them, that generally my spirit was very easy, and I did not feel that power of darkness to oppress me as I had done in many places among the people called Christians.

“After William Penn and they had expressed their satisfaction, both for themselves and their people, in keeping all their former articles unviolated, and agreed that if any particular differences did happen amongst any of their people, they should not be an occasion of fomenting or creating any war between William Penn’s people and the Indians, but justice should be done in all such cases, that all animosities might be prevented on all sides for ever, they went out of the house into an open place not far from it, to perform their cantico, or worship, which was done thus: first they make a small fire, and the men, without the women, sat down about it in a ring, and whatsoever object they severally fixed their eyes on I did not see them move them in all that part of their worship, while they sang a very melodious hymn, which affected and tendered the hearts of many who were spectators; when they had thus done they began (as I suppose in their usual manner) to beat upon the ground with little sticks, or make some motion with something in their hands, and pause a little, till one of the elder sort sets forth his hymn, and that being followed by the company for a few minutes, and then a pause; and then the like was done by another, and so by a third, and followed by the company, as at the first, which seemed exceedingly to affect them and others. Having done, they rose up

and danced a little about the fire, and parted, with some shouting, like a triumph or rejoicing.

“I leave Pennsbury, but intend, before I leave the Indians, to say something more concerning that people which I met with near Caleb Pusey's house in Pennsylvania, viz., I being walking in the wood, espied several wigwams, or houses of the Indians, and drew towards them, but could not converse with them; but looking over them in the love of God, I found it to be my way, as I apprehended, to look for an interpreter and go to them again, which I did; and when I came to them, and signified that I was come from a far country, with a message from the Great Man above, (as they call God,) and my message was to endeavour to persuade them that they should not be drunkards, nor steal, nor kill one another, nor fight, nor commit adultery, nor put away their wives, especially for small faults, which (as I understood) is usual with them to do; for if they did those things the Great and Good Man above would be angry with them, and would not prosper them, but bring trouble on them; but if they were careful to refrain from these evils (before mentioned) then would God love them, and prosper them, and speak peace to them, or very near these words. And when the interpreter expressed these things to them in their own language they wept, and tears ran down their naked bodies, and they smote their hands upon their breasts, and I perceived said something to the interpreter. I asked what they said: he told me they said all that I had delivered to them was good, and except the Great Man had sent me, I could not have told them those things. I desired the interpreter to ask them how they knew what I had said to them was good; they replied, and smote their hands on their breasts, the Good Man here (meaning in their hearts) told them what I had said was all good. They manifested much love to me in their way, and I believe the love of God is to them, and all people in the day of their visitation.”

William Penn's return to England the second time appears to have been hastened by proceedings agitated in Parliament, with a view to deprive him of the government of the province: they were, however, happily frustrated; though not without having given him much trouble and anxiety. The time having arrived for his departure, and information of it having reached many of the Indians, several of them, among whom were the chiefs of the Susquehanna and Shawanese tribes, in the eighth month of 1701, came to Philadelphia to take leave of him, as their great benefactor. These Indians came at a time when the assembly was

sitting. He received them in council. This farewell meeting is said to have been a highly interesting occasion, but few particulars, however, of this interview have been transmitted to us, the following brief account of it being all that has come to our knowledge respecting it, viz.:—"William Penn told them that the assembly was then enacting a law, according to their desire, to prevent their being abused by selling of rum among them; that he requested of them to unite all their endeavours, and their utmost exertion, in conjunction with those of the government, to put the said law in execution."

At the same time he informed them "that now this was like to be his last interview with them, at least before his return; that he had always loved and been kind to them, and ever should continue so to be, not through any politic design, or on account of self-interest, but from a most real affection; and he desired them in his absence to cultivate friendship with those whom he should leave behind in authority, as they would always, in some degree, continue to be so to them as himself had ever been; lastly, that he had charged the members of council, and he then also renewed the same charge, that they should in all respects be kind to them, and entertain them with all courtesy and demonstrations of good-will, as himself had ever done." Here the said members promised faithfully to observe the charge. Presents were then made to the Indians, who soon afterwards withdrew.

In the order of date we shall here notice an interesting religious interview which Thomas Chalkley, who travelled extensively in America in the work of the ministry, had with some Indians in the year 1706. When he was travelling in Pennsylvania and its vicinity he felt his mind drawn to visit the Indians at Conestogoe, near Susquehanna, which concern, it appears, met the cordial approval of his friends of Nottingham, before whom he laid it, thirteen of whom, for his encouragement, accompanied him in the visit, although at a considerable distance from the natives. "We got," says

Thomas Chalkley, "an interpreter, and travelled through the woods about fifty miles, carrying our provisions with us, and on the journey sat down by a river, and spread our food on the grass, and refreshed ourselves and horses, and then went on cheerfully, and with goodwill, and much love to the poor Indians; and when we came they received us kindly, treating us civilly in their way." On informing the Indians of the object of their visit, they called a council, in which "they were very grave, and spoke one after another, without any heat or jarring." In this council was a woman, who took a part in the deliberations of the tribe upon all important occasions. On the interpreter being questioned why they permitted a woman to take such a responsible part, he replied, "That some women were wiser than some men," and that "they had not done any thing for many years without the counsel of the ancient, grave woman, who spoke much in their council." This "ancient, grave woman," who was the empress of the tribe, said, records Thomas Chalkley, that "she looked upon our coming to be more than natural, because we did not come to buy, or sell, or get gain, but came in love and respect to them, and desired their well-doing both here and hereafter; and further continued, that our meetings among them might be very beneficial to their young people. And she advised them to hear us, and entertain us kindly, and accordingly they did. Here were two nations of them, the Senecas and the Shawnese. We had first a meeting with the Senecas, with which they were much affected; and they called the other nation (*viz.* the Shawnese) and interpreted to them what he had spoke in their meeting, and the poor Indians (particularly some of the young men and women) were under a solid exercise and concern. We had also a meeting with the other nation, and they were all very kind to us, and desired more such opportunities, the which I hope Divine Providence will order them, if they are worthy thereof. The gospel of Jesus Christ was preached freely to them, and faith in Christ, who

was put to death at Jerusalem by the unbelieving Jews, and that this same Jesus came to save people from their sins, and by his grace and light in the soul shows to man his sins, and convinceth him thereof, delivering him out of them, and gives inward peace and comfort to the soul for well-doing, and sorrow and trouble for evil-doing, to all which, as their manner is, they gave public assents; and to that of the light in the soul they gave a double assent, and seemed much affected with the doctrine of truth; also the benefit of the Holy Scriptures was largely opened to them.

“After this we returned to our respective habitations, thankful in our hearts to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Several of the Friends that went with me expressed their satisfaction in this visit, and offered themselves freely to go again on the like service.”

Thomas Chalkley, both prior and subsequently to this period, saw much of the aborigines of the provinces which he visited, and was anxious that his friends might keep “a friendly correspondence with them, giving them no occasion of offence.” He was very desirous also, that the legitimate right of the natives to the land they occupied should be fully recognized; in a letter which he addressed to Opeckon Monthly Meeting in Virginia, he says in relation to this subject, that, “as nature hath given them (the Indians) and their forefathers possession of this continent of America (or this wilderness), they have a natural right thereto in justice and equity; and no people, according to the law of nature and justice, and our own principle, which is according to the glorious Gospel of our dear and holy Lord Jesus Christ, ought to take away or settle on other men’s lands, or rights, without consent, or purchasing the same by agreement of the parties concerned, which, I suppose in your case is not yet done.”

The upright and candid line of conduct pursued by William Penn, and the government of Pennsylvania towards the Indians, and their care fully to recognize their rights, seems to

have tended in no small degree to its success and prosperity. Although the colony of Pennsylvania was established considerably after most of the other provinces bordering upon the Atlantic, and without possessing the advantages which several of them had in the produce of staple articles of trade, yet it was estimated that in 1760, it contained more white inhabitants than all Virginia, Maryland, and both of the Carolinas. The plan for Philadelphia was laid down in 1682. In 1718, William Penn died, in which year it is stated, that Philadelphia contained 1,400 houses, and 10,000 inhabitants, and the province altogether, about 60,000 people. In 1760 it is said, that there were in Philadelphia 3,000 houses, containing 20,000 inhabitants, and throughout Pennsylvania 200,000 people. In an account of the European settlements in America, published by Dodsley, in 1757, the statistics of the white population exhibits a still greater proportion in favour of Pennsylvania, by which it appears that, excepting New England and New York, it contained more settlers than all the other provinces united; they are as under:—

New England	354,000
Pennsylvania, the youngest colony but Georgia and Nova Scotia	250,000
New York	80,000
Virginia, the oldest	70,000
New Jersey	60,000
Maryland	40,000
North and South Carolina, and Georgia	60,000

The cause of this increase of population in so short a time, is generally said to be the kind and just treatment which the Indians received from the settlers, whereby the province was rendered entirely safe from any molestation or aggression from them. And thus, while the neighbouring states, by pursuing a different policy, were engaged in frequent broils and wars with the natives, which were attended with grievous loss of life, and great expense, Pennsylvania

stood alone in the enjoyment of uninterrupted peace and quietness.

When we come closely to examine facts, in regard to the settlement of the North American colonies, and observe how entirely different the plan pursued in the settlement of Pennsylvania was, from nearly all others on that continent, it will, we think, be no matter of surprise that it should possess advantages tending to its prosperity, beyond those enjoyed by other provinces where a different line of policy was followed. It was an observation of William Penn's with respect to the Indians, "Do not abuse them, but let them have but justice, and you win them." That this observation was correct has been abundantly shown. The Indians were won—won by justice and kind treatment, and ever evinced a desire to show their grateful sense of it, by rendering kind services to the colonists. "We have done better," said one of the settlers in 1684, "than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi. We may make the ambitious heroes, whom the world admires, blush for their shameful victories. To the poor dark souls round about us, we teach their rights as men." Again, the peaceful and even affectionate conduct of the Indians towards Friends, is another striking result of the benefit of the course adopted towards them, so that although unarmed, and in a defenceless condition as regarded their personal safety, they lived among them in entire security. "As in other countries" says Richard Townsend, "the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here, by our worthy proprietor, hath produced their love and affection." In a letter of one of the early settlers already noticed, it is stated that "the Indians were even rendered our benefactors and protectors:—without any carnal weapon we entered the land and inhabited therein as safe as if there had been thousands of garrisons." "This little state," says Oldmixon, "subsisted in the midst of six Indian nations,

without so much as a militia for a defence." As long as Friends retained a power in the government, and which was for a period of about seventy years, nothing whatsoever of a warlike character was ever countenanced, and their friendly and just conduct towards the natives was so effective, as to prevent or redress misunderstandings and grievances which occasionally arose between them and the settlers.

The advantages which, even in a temporal point of view, thus resulted to the early settlers in Pennsylvania, by adopting a line of conduct in unison with the principles of that religion which breathes "peace on earth and good will to man," forms a striking contrast to the melancholy evils which followed as a consequence of a mode of policy adverse to these principles.

Proceeding, as the early settlers to other provinces of North America did, to a country inhabited by races of men of apparently wild, ferocious, and savage habits of life, and whom they observed to be frequently engaged in sanguinary conflicts with each other; they conceived themselves, in being surrounded by men of this description, to be in imminent danger of their lives, and acting on the policy of the world, in a spirit contrary to that which reposes in the protecting care of Divine Providence, they began, as soon as they set foot upon the soil, to exhibit a military appearance, to build forts, to fortify their towns, and show themselves in arms, before they had received any kind of molestation or injury, but merely from the fear that such means of defence were needful. The exhibition of such a formidable appearance produced, as a natural consequence, a feeling of distrust and suspicion in the minds of the natives. Dr. Trumbull, in his History of Connecticut, has the following pertinent remarks in reference to this part of the subject: "As these infant settlements," says he, "were filled and surrounded with numerous savages, the people conceived themselves in danger when they lay down and when they rose up, when they went out and when they

came in. Their circumstances were such, that it was judged necessary for every man to be a soldier. The consequence was, that, when they began to exhibit a military appearance, several of them were way-laid and killed by the Pequods, for so the Indians were named in this quarter. Hence followed greater warlike preparations on the one side, and greater suspicion on the other, till at length open war commenced between them, during which great excesses were committed by both parties."

War being thus commenced between the Indians and the settlers, the former not unfrequently, on being drawn into a conflict with one province, carried their ravages without discrimination into others, where the warlike demonstrations were similar. Thus it appears, that when the Indians had been provoked by the Virginians, during the time that Lord Baltimore was Governor of Maryland, and who, it is said, conducted himself in the most unexceptionable manner towards the natives, they, nevertheless, carried their devastations into Maryland as well as Virginia; whereas the adjacent province of Pennsylvania, where nothing of a warlike character existed, remained uninjured, being uniformly respected by the Indians, and as the territory of William Penn, being held as almost sacred by them. "New England," remarks Bancroft in his history of the United States, "had just terminated a disastrous war of extermination: the Dutch were scarcely ever at peace with the Algonquins; the laws of Maryland refer to Indian hostilities and massacres, which extended as far as Richmond. Penn came without arms; he declared his purpose to abstain from violence; he had no message but peace, and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian." In unison with this statement, Oldmixon, in 1708, remarks, that "they (the Indians) have been very civil to the English, (Pennsylvanians,) who never lost man, woman, or child by them, which neither the colony of Maryland nor that of Virginia can say, no more than the great colony of New England." A few years pre-

vious to this, viz. 1704, Thomas Chalkley, in his visit to New England, remarks very much to the same purport: "About this time the Indians were very barbarous, in the destruction of the English inhabitants, scalping some, and knocking out the brains of others, (men, women, and children,) by which the country was greatly alarmed both night and day; but the great Lord of all was pleased wonderfully to preserve our Friends, especially those who kept faithful to their peaceable principles." In another place, he says, "A neighbour of the aforesaid people told me that, as he was at work in his field, the Indians saw and called to him, and he went to them. They told him, that they had no quarrel with the Quakers, for they were a quiet, peaceable people, and hurt nobody, and that therefore none should hurt them. Those Indians began about this time to shoot people down as they rode along the road, and to knock them on the head in their beds, and very barbarously murdered many; but we travelled the country, and had large meetings, and the good presence of God was with us abundantly; and we had great inward joy in the Holy Ghost in our outward jeopardy and travels. The people generally rode and went to their worship armed; but Friends went to their meetings without either sword or gun, having their trust and confidence in God." John Fothergill, who about two years after paid a religious visit to New England, speaks of the "bloody incursions that the Indians then frequently made upon the English." "But it was," he says, "a profitable, humbling time to many of our Friends, who generally stood in the faith, and kept at their usual places of abode, though at the daily hazard of their lives: and it was very remarkable, that scarce any, who thus kept their habitations in the faith, were suffered to fall by the Indians, though few days passed but we heard of some of their cruel murders, and destroying vengeance."

Our object in thus bringing these facts into view, is to show, that as on the one hand the Indians, like the generality of uncivilized and barbarous nations, are, when incensed by

ill usage, instigated to acts of revenge and cruelty ; so, on the other hand, when dealt kindly and justly with, prove faithful and kind friends, and scrupulously endeavour to maintain peace and friendship. Amidst all the devastating incursions of the Indians in North America, it is a remarkable fact, that no Friend who stood faithful to his principles in the disuse of all weapons of war, the cause of which was generally well understood by the Indians, ever suffered personal molestation from them. It is, however, recorded in history, that during these Indian wars, three Friends were murdered by the natives ; and it is striking that these suffered the loss of their lives, entirely through the abandonment of their peace principles. In alluding to this fact, Thomas Chalkley thus writes: " Among the many hundreds that were slain, I heard but of three of our Friends being killed, whose destruction was very remarkable, as I was informed. The one was a woman, and the other two were men. The men used to go to their labour without any weapons, and trusted to the Almighty, and depended on his providence to protect them, (it being their principle not to use weapons of war to offend others, or to defend themselves) : but a spirit of distrust taking place, they took weapons of war to defend themselves ; and the Indians, who had seen them several times without them, let them alone, saying, they were peaceable men and hurt nobody, therefore they would not hurt them ; but now, seeing them have guns, and supposing they designed to kill the Indians, they therefore shot them dead." The statement respecting the woman Friend is rather long ; the substance of it, however, is this : she resided near a garrison of the settlers, in a neighbourhood where the massacres had been many ; she let in a fear for her safety, and being informed by the men belonging to the garrison that the Indians were near, she entered with them into their fortifications for safety. Whilst there she became uneasy, and felt that by thus taking refuge with armed people she had compromised one of the great principles of her religion ; she therefore determined to

leave the fort, but on returning home, the Indians, who had seen her come out of it, and who consequently supposed her to belong to it, or to hold similar principles with the people in it, waylaid, and killed her.

Many have been the encomiums which historians have bestowed upon the benevolent and Christian treatment of the Indians by William Penn, and of the advantages alike to both parties which resulted : a line of conduct unheard of in the present age of European colonizing enterprise, the proceedings of which, we are concerned to observe, are diametrically opposite to those taken in the colonization of Pennsylvania ; and so far from being advantageous to the aborigines, brings upon them accumulated miseries, whilst at the same time such a course is attended with evident loss and prejudice to the settlements. So manifest, in fact, has this been the case, that a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed " to consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made ;" in making their report in 1836, thus alludes to it : " It is not too much to say, that the intercourse of Europeans in general, without any exception in favour of the subjects of Great Britain, has been, unless when attended by missionary exertions, a source of many calamities to uncivilized nations. Too often their territory has been usurped, their property seized, their numbers diminished, their character debased, the spread of civilization impeded. European vices and diseases have been introduced amongst them, and they have been familiarized with the use of our most potent instruments for the subtle or violent destruction of human life, viz., brandy and gunpowder. It will be only too easy to make the proof of all these assertions, which may be established solely by the evidence above referred to. It will be easy also to show, that the result to ourselves has been as contrary to our interest as to our duty ; that our system has not only incurred

a vast load of crime, but a vast expenditure of money and amount of loss."

Among the documents submitted to this Committee of the House of Commons, we find one relating to the conduct of William Penn to the Indians, drawn up by Thomas Hodgkin, M.D., which being in intimate connexion with our subject we subjoin: it is as follows, viz.

PAPER (A.) REFERRED TO IN THE EVIDENCE OF T. HODGKIN, ESQ.,
22d March, 1837.

"In reply to the question addressed to me, respecting the course adopted by William Penn in his dealings with the Indians, not being in possession of any original and unpublished documents relating to the subject, I have endeavoured to select from his life and writings, and from collateral testimonies, such particulars as appear to me best calculated to furnish the information desired.

There is scarcely a fact in modern history more notorious, than that William Penn, in laying the foundation of the province of Pennsylvania, furnished a singular exception to the mode of colonization adopted by civilized and Christian states, inasmuch as he obtained the possession of his territory by treaty and purchase of those who possessed a natural and hereditary right to it, instead of resting satisfied with having obtained his right and title by letters patent from the King of England; a title which, though perfectly valid and unquestionable, according to the views and practices of the civilized world, must, when closely examined and coolly considered, be regarded as merely an assumed right, repugnant to reason and justice; the case being simply this: *A.* of the first part, discovers a valuable territory possessed and occupied by *B.*, of the second part; calls it his own, because he has seen it, and gives it to *C.* of the third part, with all the form and circumstance of the most legal transfer. *B.* in the meantime being so far from a party to the transaction, that he remains the whole time perfectly ignorant of what has taken place. That such a title could not satisfy the conscience of a virtuous man is less surprising than that his adopting a different course, and obtaining a just as well as a legal title, should have been so singular a transaction as to have commanded the admiration of mankind. Were this the only remarkable feature in William Penn's colonization, it would scarcely have a claim to your attention in the present day.

But there are details connected with his treatment of the aborigines

from whom he made his second purchase, the statement of which, if I mistake not, is the object for which I have been called before you.

It appears that prior to the great and memorable treaty in which William Penn purchased his territory from the Indians, he had caused preliminary conferences to be held with them; they were apprized of his object, and came to the treaty in vast numbers, and occupied a very considerable time in deliberation; and there is no reason to doubt, that at the time and subsequently, they were satisfied with the terms which they had made. I am induced to dwell a little upon this point, because I have heard it insisted upon by gentlemen of the United States, that William Penn's purchase was merely the semblance of a purchase; that he gave no equivalent for the land, that he must have known that he overreached them, and that such must always be the case when civilized men treat with the uncivilized to obtain their territory.

In refutation of this statement, it should be observed, that it stands on record that one of the principal chiefs concerned, declared that their land was then so much reduced [in extent] that they could then [1682] sell but two miles for what they would have sold twenty before.

William Penn appears to have given about £20,000 to the Indians, and it should be taken into consideration, that at that period the Indians still possessed large territories, whilst European manufactures were more scarce and consequently of more value to them than they are at present. On the other hand, in the infancy of our colonies, the value of the land was scarcely known to the settlers. That it was set at a low price is evident, from the fact, that large tracts, and even some of the most advantageous sites, were almost given away by William Penn. The two most important features in William Penn's conduct towards the aborigines appear to me to be very generally overlooked.

The first is, that notwithstanding he purchased the land from the Indians, he did not desire their removal from it. They were at liberty to settle as his subjects in many parts of the province.

The second point is, that he admitted them to full participation in the benefit and protection of the laws, enacting, that in cases in which whites and Indians were concerned, they should sit in equal numbers on the juries. He also made some special laws in their favour, lest, from inferiority in knowledge, they should become the victims of injustice. Thus he restricted the trade in skins to duly authorized persons, and still further to insure them against receiving an inadequate value, these transactions were to take place in the public market.

From some of the quotations which I am prepared to lay before you, it is evident that these acts of kindness were not lost upon the Indians; but that for many years they cherished his memory with gratitude and admira-

tion. It appears that, for about seventy years, during which the government of the province was allowed to remain in the hands of that society of which William Penn was a member, the treaty of peace between the Indians and Pennsylvanians remained unbroken, which is the more remarkable when we remember the irregular character of the savage warfare, which was frequently going forward between the other provinces, and the Indians, exasperated to the highest pitch by encroachments and atrocities.

It was not only by his respect for the inalienable rights of the Indians, and by attention to their temporal welfare, that William Penn's conduct towards that people is worthy of imitation. He was anxious for their participation in the blessings of Christianity, and on this, as well as on other grounds, recommended them to the care of his followers; and I would be permitted to take this opportunity of stating, that I believe that the conduct of the Society of Friends with respect to their care on this head, has by some been much underrated. It must be well known to most, that the Society of Friends has no theological schools for the preparation of preachers, and that there are none amongst us from whom the delivery of a sermon is required by the body. It is therefore not surprising that none should have been specially appointed to preach to the Indians. But it is evident from the extant memoirs of different ministers in this society, from the time of William Penn downwards, that the gospel of our Saviour was by them preached to the Indians. Thomas Story, who was William Penn's companion when he treated with the Indians, has left some very sound counsel on this subject; and it is stated in Proud's Pennsylvania, that there was a company of Christian Indians whose practice appears to have adorned their profession.

In most parts of North America the Indians have been peculiarly averse to embrace the doctrines of Christianity. With some encouraging exceptions, they look with scepticism and prejudice at a religion, the professors of which have so generally proved themselves their merciless persecutors, and their instructors in crime. If the conduct of William Penn and his brethren formed such a contrast with that of the generality of the whites, as to make an indelible impression upon the Indians, you will perhaps ask, where are the proofs of the advantage of this system, and what is the prosperity of the Indians in Pennsylvania, to encourage other governments to follow Penn's example?

It must be confessed, that there is little encouragement to be exhibited. Much of the good that was contemplated was never realized, and of that which was accomplished, nearly the whole has been abolished; but the causes which have effected this are sufficiently obvious. The strong and rooted attachment of the Indians to a hunting life, is a great obstacle to all attempts to fix them to the soil. The increased demand for their

furs has had the double effect of requiring a larger portion of time to be devoted to hunting, and has obliged them, like the game which they pursue, to recede further and further before the advances of civilization, and to withdraw themselves from the instruction, counsel, and example of those most deeply interested in their welfare; whilst they have been increasingly exposed to the injustice and contamination of the profligate trader and back-woodsman, whose crimes are unobserved, or if observed, are unpunished. Moreover, the example of William Penn has produced an influence diametrically the reverse of that which he would have desired. The peace which he established with the Indians was a most important element in the success of his colony; that success encouraged emigration, which contracted the hunting-grounds of the Indians. The example of William Penn has been repeatedly followed, as far as the obtaining of land by treaty with the Indians; by means of which the Indians have rapidly lost large and rich tracts of land, which would not so soon have changed their owners under a system of forcible spoliation. Such treaties unaccompanied by the beneficial measures which formed a part of William Penn's plan, have been beneficial to the whites, but irreparably injurious to the Indians. The former have gained an easy possession of the resources of the latter, whilst famine, and in some instances war, has been the portion of the Indians as they have retreated upon the territories of other tribes.

The reserved portions of territory, the possession of which facilitated the concessions made by the Indians, have been successively alienated from them, when the whites have desired to possess them.

The frequent removals which these transactions have occasioned, have again and again been complained of by those members of the Society of Friends, who, following the example and injunctions of William Penn, have endeavoured to promote the welfare and improvement of the Indians. Similar complaints have also been made by missionaries of other religious societies. It appears from the Journal of John Churchman, that before the separation of the United States from this country, the interference of Friends in favour of the Indians was looked upon with jealousy, and that the Indians complained that they did not receive that protection from colonial justice which the treaty of William Penn had been designed to secure for them.

These circumstances will probably be admitted as sufficient to account for the smallness of the amount of good which has really been effected by the justly celebrated and applauded treaty of William Penn with the Indians.

There have, doubtless, been wise and benevolent individuals, both amongst the officers of government and in religious societies of different

denominations, who have strenuously and sincerely exerted themselves for the benefit of the Indians, but their efforts have been inadequate to stem the torrent of malign causes, which threaten their extermination.

I should not be doing justice to the memory of the late Governor Semple,* if I did not state, that I had seen a letter from that officer, which was dictated by the kindest feelings and best intentions towards the aborigines of the district placed under the influence of his authority. That letter was addressed to Benjamin Harrison, Esq., who had expressly recommended the interest of the Indians to the governor prior to his leaving England. At the same time, amidst the conflicting statements which proceed from that region, I cannot but see reasons to apprehend that these excellent intentions, and most laudable exertions fail, like those of the great legislator, respecting whom your questions have been directed to me, to realize the good which they were designed to effect. Neither the virtues and eminence of those by whom these benevolent designs have been commenced and supported, nor the positive good which has absolutely been effected, should conceal from our observation that there, in common with every quarter in which civilized and uncivilized men are brought into contact with each other, the problem remains to be solved, how the prosperity, and even the existence of the latter is to be maintained in competition with the superior intelligence, mightier resources, and opposite interests of the former.

THOMAS HODGKIN, M.D.

The advantages, then, which resulted to such of the colonists of America who, by a mild and pacific treatment of the natives had established a friendly alliance and intercourse with them, being fully demonstrated by the settlers of Pennsylvania, they appear also to have considered it important for the prosperity of their province to sustain this good understanding, and accordingly we find the government from time to time adopting measures calculated to secure a continuance of it. Frequently they made presents to the Indians, which, with the cost attendant upon other transactions with them, amounted to considerable sums of money.

* He was governor for the Hudson's Bay Company, upwards of twenty years ago, and lost his life in consequence of the strife existing between his own and a rival fur company.

“This province,” says Proud, “was constantly at a considerable expense for the preservation of the friendship of the Indians, in such manner as was very important and interesting to all the neighbouring governments, and the general utility.” In the votes of the Assembly, it is stated, that besides the expenses on Indian affairs, paid out of the provincial stock, from the year 1733 to 1751, a time of great tranquillity with them, no less than £8,366 was expended on these people by the government. The provisions of the act passed in 1682 against supplying spirituous liquors to the Indians not being found in subsequent years sufficiently stringent to prevent the sale of it to them, in 1722 the government passed another law, entitled “An Act to prohibit the selling of Rum, and other strong Liquors, to the Indians, and to prevent abuses that may happen thereby.” Treaties, also, were not unfrequently held with various tribes, for the purpose of settling differences which occasionally arose between them and some of the settlers, and for strengthening and renewing the general good feeling towards them. The following particulars which we have gathered of some of these treaties are interesting, and will illustrate the manner of proceeding on these occasions, viz. :

“At a council at Philadelphia, 14th June, 1715,

“Present, the honourable CHARLES GOOKIN, Lieutenant Governor.

“JOSEPH GROWDON,

RICHARD HILL,

GRIFFITH OWEN,

ISAAC NORRIS,

JAMES LOGAN,

ROBERT ASHTON.

“The chiefs of the Delaware and Schulykill Indians, in a visit to the governor, &c., met in the court-house, at Philadelphia; Sassoonan being their head, and Opessah, the late Shawnese king, with his companions attending him; and then opening the calumet, with great ceremony of their rattles and songs, it was offered by Sassoman, the king, to the governor and council, and to all others of the English there met; and afterwards it was also offered by him to all his Indians, and then with the same ceremony was put up again.

“Then Sassoonan rose, and spoke to the governor, and said, that the calumet, the bond of peace, which they had carried to all the nations round, they had now brought hither; that it was a sure bond and seal of

peace amongst them, and between them and us; and they desired, by holding up their hands, that the God of heaven might be witness to it, and that there might be a firm peace between them and us for ever.

“To which the governor answered,

“That he was very glad to see them retain so strong a sense of that firm peace which was settled between William Penn, the founder and chief governor of this country, at his first coming into it, in behalf of himself and all his people, with them and all theirs: that they were sensible we had always preserved it unviolated on our side; and were glad we had reason to say they had done the same on theirs; that we desired nothing more, than that the great God, who made heaven and earth, and all living creatures, and who knew the thoughts, and saw all the actions of men, to whom they applied, should be witness of what now passed between us; and that this renewal of the same bond of peace might be recorded between them and us for ever.’

“With which speech they expressed themselves greatly satisfied,

“Sassoonan added, that hearing of some murmurs among some of themselves, to prevent any misunderstanding, they came to renew the former bond of friendship: that William Penn had, at his first coming, made a clear and open road, all the way to the Indians; [by this meaning a friendly communication;] that they desired the same might be kept open; and that all obstructions should be removed; of which, on their side, they will take care.

“He then presented a belt of wampum, and added to the same effect:

“That they desired the peace, which had been made, should be so firm, that they and we should join hand in hand so firmly, that nothing, even the greatest tree, should be able to divide them asunder.

“After this they, seeming to wait for an answer, were desired to proceed, and to deliver what they had now further to say; and that answers and returns for binding the friendship on our side would be made to them altogether.

“Sassoonan accordingly proceeded, and said, that their late king Skalitohi desired of them that they would take care to keep a perfect [friendship] with the English, and that they should be joined as one; that the Indians should be half English, and the English make themselves as half Indians, that they might the better be as the same.

“He further added, laying down a second belt, that as the fathers have been in peace, they desired that their children and our children still, as they should be born, and come into the world hereafter, might be brought up in the same union; and that it should be continued between their and our posterity, from generation to generation, for ever.

“ He added, that in the last council which they held with us, they spoke concerning the sun, by whose influence they had lived in warmth and plenty, from the beginning ; that they now desired the same happiness might be continued to them with us, in the firmest peace ; and that it might last as long as the sun should endure ; that when any clouds interpose between them and the sun, it brings coolness, and is unpleasant ; the same will be, if any cloud should arise between them and us ; and, therefore, they desire, if any thing of that kind appear, it may be dissipated without delay.

“ He laid down a third belt, and continued in the same strain, desiring, as before, that they might still enjoy the warmth of the sun, and our friendship together ; that then they should want no necessaries of life, but enjoying all the comforts of it, with their wives, and might repose themselves with them in peace and safety, without any disturbance.

“ This he delivered in behalf of all our Indians, on this side Susquehanna, who are all concerned with him in this treaty ; and this was all he had to say on this subject.

“ He then began again, and laying down a bundle of deer-skins, said, that now they would discourse of matters of trade between them and us : that hitherto it had been like a house with two doors, one for them, the other for the English ; but the goods were placed in the dark, so that they were wholly ignorant how they had been dealt with, or how they should trade.

“ He repeated the same, laying down a second bundle of skins, and desired they might be informed of the terms they might trade upon, that if occasion were, they might, at any time, send their wives, and be out of danger of being cheated.

“ He added a third bundle of deer skins, complaining how hard it was upon them ; for that they knew not what they were to expect for their goods, and that they could scarce purchase ours.

“ Laying down a fourth bundle, being skins and furs, he desired that we might be as people eating all of the same dish, and so they might be dealt with as if they were our own people.

“ Presenting a fifth bundle, he said, that formerly they exactly knew the prices both of our goods and theirs ; but now they varied so much, there was no understanding them.

“ With a sixth bundle, he said, that through this uncertainty, he wore himself such ragged breeches, that he was ashamed to show them, and desired this inconveniency might be remedied.

“ Offering a seventh, he complained that they were often imposed on by the weight of our money, when they came to sell ; that we certainly knew the value of theirs ; but they could not understand ours ; and therefore desired that this great inconveniency might also be remedied.

“ He offered an eighth, informing that Opessah (formerly king of the

Shawnese, but now abdicated) lived at a great distance, and entertained them with victuals and provisions, when they went that way, and therefore they desired that when he should come among us, he might be received as one of themselves, with the same openness that he received from them.

"Having ended their discourse, they were told, that to-morrow they should receive answers to all they had said, and were, for the present, dismissed.

"Orders were given to the mayor of Philadelphia, Issac Norris, and the secretary, to take an account of the presents, now made and their value; and that goods should be provided, to be ready in the morning; and the said presents were found to consist of,

45 Raw fall deer-skins, . wt. 138 lbs. at 9d.	£5 3 6
8 Summer ditto, 16 . . 13½	0 18 0
53 Dressed 57 . . 2s. 6d.	7 2 6
84 Whole foxes 18d.	6 6 0
12 Raccoons 12d.	0 12 0
3 Ordinary fishers 3s.	0 9 0
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	20 11 0
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"At a council held in Philadelphia, 15th June, 1715,

"Present, the Honourable CHARLES GOOKIN, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor,

" GRIFFITH OWEN,

ISAAC NORRIS,

JAMES LOGAN,

ROBERT ASHTON.

RICHARD HILL,

"Presents having been prepared, according to order, and the Indians being met and seated, the governor ordered the interpreter to inform them, that their visit, on so friendly a design, as still further to strengthen the bond of peace between us, was very acceptable; that we doubted not but they would think themselves, and their children, from generation to generation, obliged to keep inviolable those firm treaties of peace, which had been made, and which we had kept, and were resolved ever to keep firm on our side; and hope none of them have any cause to murmur; if they knew of any, they are desired to mention it freely.

"That the great Queen of England, who had for so many years reigned with great success, was now dead, and was succeeded by a king, who has been a great general in the wars, is a wise king, and has more dominions than any King of Great Britain ever had before him; that under him, as well they (the Indians) as we, his other subjects, may live in the same peace that we have enjoyed any time before; that our proprietary, their Friend William Penn, is still living, though but weak in health.

"That as to the complaints they made concerning trade, the governor is

sorry he cannot give them a more entire satisfaction in it, and remove every hardship which they lie under; but that all trade is uncertain; our own wheat the last year yielded twice the price it does this; all our goods which they buy are brought from England, whither we also send theirs; that sometimes a habit, which is in fashion one year is laid aside the next; and, accordingly, the skins of which they are made will be of a higher or lower value. It is the same with all our other merchandize, as with those which they buy: their only security and safety will be to trade with the honestest men, and those of the best reputation, and prefer those who will give the most; that this is our rule in all our business, and they must do the same.

“That Opessah has long been under a league of friendship with us, and though he has now left those Indians among whom he formerly lived, yet we shall show him the same friendship as ever, and shall depend upon the same from him: and that, upon this further recommendation from them, he will think himself as one of them, and under the same bond with them, and therefore we desire that, as he lives at a great distance, and may see many foreign Indians, he will, from time to time, inform us, if he hears of anything which may concern us; and this we desire, and shall expect and depend on from him, and all his friends there; as also that, if they know anything now of any late motions to or from the southward, they would acquaint us.

“Concerning which, being particularly asked, Opessah affirmed, he knew nothing.

“The governor further ordered they should be told, that all the sober English very much lamented that they could not guard themselves better against liquor; that they should send their young men abroad to hunt, and at their return, should sell their goods for such things as would be of real service to them, and not throw it all away for that destructive liquor, rum, which robbed them, not only of their goods, but of their lives also.

“All which being delivered together with the presents which were provided, Pokehais, in the name of the rest, expressed their satisfaction and thanks, for the favours now showed them.”

The presents were	16 Stroud match-coats at	19s.	£15	4	0
	10 Duffil ditto	10s. 6d.	5	5	0
	6 Blankets	13 4	4	0	0
	6 Shirts	8 6	2	11	0
	50 lb. Powder		4	10	0
	100 lb. Lead and 100 [obscure] at 3d. each		2	10	0
	12 doz. Pipes		0	4	6
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			£34	4	6
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In the beginning of the year 1719, a disagreement which happened about that time, between the southern Indians and those of Pennsylvania, and more northward, appeared to demand the attention of the government, to prevent further ill consequences ; accordingly, in the year 1721, as the dispute still continued, and seemed to increase between them, further endeavours and suitable means were used for that salutary purpose.

The governor, in the spring, made a journey into Virginia on this occasion ; and also held a treaty at Conestogoe in Pennsylvania, with the Indians of different nations, after his return, on which occasion he thus addressed them, viz. :

“My friends and brothers, it is a great satisfaction to me, that I have this opportunity of speaking to the valiant and wise Five Nations of Indians, whom you tell me you are fully empowered to represent.

“I am also glad to find that you remember what William Penn formerly said to you. He was a great and a good man ; his own people loved him ; he loved the Indians, and they also loved him. He was as their father ; he would never suffer them to be wronged ; neither would he let his people enter upon any lands until he had first purchased them of the Indians. He was just, and therefore the Indians loved him.

“Though he is now removed from us, yet his children and people, following his example, will always take the same measures ; so that his and our posterity will be as a long chain, of which he was the first link ; and when one link ends, another succeeds, and then another ; being all firmly bound together in one strong chain, to endure for ever.

“He formerly knit the chain of friendship with you, as the chief of all the Indians in these parts ; and lest this chain should grow rusty, you now desire it may be scoured and made strong, to bind us, as one people, together. We do assure you it is, and has always been, bright on our side, and so we will ever keep it.

“Nevertheless, if any little disorders should at any time hereafter arise, we will endeavour that it shall not break or weaken the chain of friendship between us ; to which end, if any of your people take offence, you must in that case apply to me, or to our chiefs : and when we have any cause to complain, we shall, as you desire, apply to your chiefs by our friends, the Conestogoe Indians ; but, on both sides, we must labour to prevent everything of this kind as much as we can.

“I am sensible rum is very hurtful to the Indians ; we have made laws that none should be carried amongst them, or, if any is, that it should be staved and thrown upon the ground ; and the Indians have been ordered to destroy all the rum that comes in their way, but they will not do it ; they will have rum ; and when we refuse it, they will travel to the neighbouring provinces and fetch it ; their own women go to purchase it, and

then sell it amongst their own people at excessive rates. I would gladly make any laws to prevent this that could be effectual ; but the country is so wide, the woods are so dark and private, and so far out of my sight, if the Indians themselves do not prohibit their own people, there is no other way to prevent it ; for my part, I shall readily join in any measures that can be proposed for so good a purpose.

“ I have now, my friends and brothers, said all that I think can be of service at this time, and I give you these things here laid before you to confirm my words, viz. five coats, twenty pounds of powder, forty pounds of lead, for each of the Five Nations ; that is, twenty-five coats, one hundred pounds of powder, and two hundred pounds of lead, in the whole, which I desire may be delivered to them, with these words in my name, and on behalf of this province : ‘ I shall be glad to see often some of your chief men sent in the name of all the rest, and desire you will come to Philadelphia to visit our families and our children born there, where we can provide better for you, and make you more welcome ; for people always receive their friends best at their own houses.’ I heartily wish you well on your journey, and good success in it. And when you return home, I desire you will give my very kind love, and the love of all our people, to your kings and to all their people.”

“ In the spring of the year 1722, an Indian was barbarously killed within the limits of the province, somewhere above Conestogoe. This murder was supposed to be perpetrated by one or two persons of the name of Cartlidge. The governor having commissioned James Logan and Colonel French, two of his council, to go to Conestogoe to inquire into the affair, after their return, at the request of the assembly, they laid their report of it before them. The house, in their address to the governor thereon, expressed their utmost concern on this affair ; they gratefully acknowledged, and highly commended the governor’s prudent conduct and steady administration of justice ; but more especially at that time, on an occasion of the greatest importance to the peace and safety of the government, by his empowering two gentlemen of his council, so able and prudent, on the present emergency ; ‘ Whose wise conduct,’ said they, ‘ is very conspicuous from their report laid before the house by the governor ;—that at the relation of the dismal circumstances they were filled with horror and surprise, that, after so long continuance of the peace, first settled by the honourable proprietary, William Penn, with the Indians, any breach should be now made by those under the name of Christians, to the reproach of that name, and danger of the safety and peace both of this province and others.’ ”

“ They earnestly requested the governor to persist in his laudable endeavour, to bring the aggressors to condign punishment with all possible

speed, lest, by delay of justice, the Indians should be induced to withdraw their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain and affection from this government, and be provoked to do themselves justice, in a manner that might be of most dangerous consequence: 'that he would advise with his council in making treaties with them; for,' (said they,) 'as they are some of the principal inhabitants of this government, we have no reason to doubt but they will be concerned for the good of the same.'

"They further pressed the maintaining the league of friendship first made by their worthy proprietary, as a thing of the greatest importance that could possibly come before them; and therefore they unanimously recommended the execution of strict justice, as the best and most effectual means for that end; the want of which, in the apprehension of that vindictive people, had produced sad and fatal consequences to other provinces; they likewise proposed to the governor's consideration some particulars to be immediately done in the affair, and mentioned the repeated request of the Indians, that strong liquors should not be carried or sold among them, with the petition of sundry inhabitants of the province to the same import, which the laws hitherto made in that case had not been able to prevent; they therefore requested the advice and assistance of the governor and council therein, &c.

"The governor thanked them for the great satisfaction which they expressed with his conduct and administration, and declared, that he had carefully endeavoured to follow the late honourable proprietary's steps in such affairs; to keep the natives always in a lively and perfect remembrance of his love to them, and to build all their treaties of peace with them upon the same principles and maxims of good policy which he used and maintained when he was here himself. He likewise assured the house, that he had at that time all the probability which the nature of the case would admit of for settling matters again with the Indian nations, upon that just, firm, and friendly foundation, which the house so earnestly desired and recommended to him. He acknowledged the insufficiency of the laws to restrain people from carrying too great quantities of rum and selling it among the Indians, thereby debauching and cheating them; which, he said, he had complained of to former assemblies.

"Great pains were taken in this affair; an Indian messenger, Satcheecho, was dispatched to the Five Nations; the suspected persons were committed to prison; and the governor, with two of the council, met and treated with the Five Nations at Albany respecting it, besides the presents which were made to the Indians. The Five Nations desired that the Cartlidges should not suffer death; and the affair was at length amicably settled."

At a treaty, held with the Six Nations, at Philadelphia, in July, 1742,

in Governor Thomas's administration, Canassatego, chief of the Onondagoes, said :—" We are all very sensible of the kind regard which that good man, William Penn, had for all the Indians," &c.

At this treaty these Indians thus expressed themselves respecting James Logan, which further shows the sense and gratitude of that people when they are well treated, &c.

"Canassatego then spoke to the governor and council.

"Brethren, we called at our old friend, James Logan's, in our way to this city, and, to our grief, we found him hid in the bushes, and retired through infirmities from public business. We pressed him to leave his retirement, and prevailed with him to assist once more, on our account, at your council. We hope, notwithstanding his age and the effects of a fit of sickness, which we understand has hurt his constitution, that he may yet continue a long time to assist this province with his counsels. He is a wise man, and a fast friend to the Indians; and we desire, when his soul goes to God, you may choose in his room just such another person, of the same prudence and ability in counselling, and of the same tender disposition and affection for the Indians. In testimony of our gratitude for all his services, and because he was so good as to leave his country-house and follow us to town, and be at the trouble, in this his advanced age, to attend the council, we present him with this bundle of skins."

After the governor had concluded, James Logan replied to that part of Canassatego's speech which related to him, and said,—

"That not only upon the account of his lameness, of which the Indians themselves were witnesses, but on account of another indisposition, which, about three years since, had laid him under an incapacity of expressing himself with his former usual freedom, he had been obliged to live retired in the country. But that our first proprietor, the Honourable William Penn, who had ever been a father and a true friend of all the Indians, having, about forty years since, recommended them to his particular care, he had always, from his own inclination as well as from that strict charge, endeavoured to convince all the Indians that he was their true friend; and was now well pleased, and after a tract of so many years, they were not insensible of it. He thanked them kindly for their present, and heartily joined with them in their desires, that the government may always be furnished with persons of equally good inclinations, and not only with such, but also with better abilities to serve them."

About seven years subsequently, viz., 1749, a Council was held during the administration of James Hamilton with the Seneca and other Indians in Philadelphia, on which occasion Ogaushtash, in part of his speech, thus expresses himself:—

"We recommend it to the governor, to tread in the steps of those wise

people who have held the reins of government before him, in being good and kind to the Indians. Do, brother, make it your study to consult the interest of our nations; as you have so large an authority, you can do us much good or harm; we would, therefore, engage your influence and affections for us, that the same harmony and mutual affections may subsist during your government, which so happily subsisted in former times, nay, from the first settlement of this province by our good friend, the great William Penn," &c.

We have already stated, that the Christian instruction and civilization of the Indian tribes early engaged the interest of Friends in Pennsylvania, and that in 1685, very shortly after the establishment of a Yearly Meeting there, the subject obtained the close attention of that body. From this period down to the present time, the same subject has, more or less, occupied the attention of that Yearly Meeting. From the advices relating to the treatment of the Indians, which have from time to time been issued by it, we select the following as lively memorials of its continued concern for the full recognition and maintenance of the just and inalienable rights of the natives.

YEARLY MEETING ADVICES RELATING TO THE INDIANS.

"When way was made for our worthy Friends, the proprietors and owners of lands in these provinces, to make their first settlement, it pleased Almighty God to influence the native Indians so as to make them very helpful to those early settlers, before they could raise stocks or provisions for their sustenance. And it being soon observed, that those people, when they got rum or other strong liquors, set no bounds to themselves, but were apt to be abusive, and sometimes even destroyed one another, there came a religious concern upon Friends to prevent those abuses; nevertheless, some people, preferring their filthy lucre before the common-good, continued in this evil practice, so that our Yearly Meeting, in the year 1687, testified, that the practice of selling rum or other strong liquors to the Indians, or exchanging the same for any goods or merchandize with them, is a thing displeasing to the Lord and a dishonour to truth; and, although this Testimony has been since renewed by several Yearly Meetings, it is yet notorious that the same hath not been duly observed by some persons; it therefore becomes the weighty concern of this meeting, earnestly to recommend that testimony to the strict observance of all Friends; and where any un-

der our profession act contrary thereto, let them be speedily dealt with and censured for such their evil practice. 1722.

“In these provinces we may say, the Lord hath, as a gracious and tender parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers; it was He who strengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderness, and made way for them in the hearts of the Indian natives, so that by them they were comforted in times of want and distress; it was by the gracious influence of His Holy Spirit that they were disposed to work righteousness, and walk uprightly one towards another and towards the natives, and in life and conversation to manifest the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion, and thereby they retained their esteem and friendship, which ought ever to be remembered with grateful thankfulness by us. 1759.

“It is the solid sense and judgment of this meeting, that Friends should not purchase, or remove to settle on such lands as have not been fairly and openly first purchased of the Indians, by those persons who are or may be authorized by the government to make such purchases; and that Monthly Meetings should be careful to excite their members to the strict observance of this advice; and where any so remove contrary to the advice of their brethren, that they should not give certificates to such persons, but persuade them to avoid the danger to which they expose themselves, and to convince them of the inconsistency of their conduct with our Christian profession.” 1763.

So long as a kind and conciliatory treatment continued to be observed towards the Indians in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the friendship which existed between them and the settlers, was but little if at all interrupted. For more than seventy years we hear of no interruption of the cordial understanding between the two parties. But when a different line of policy was introduced into the government of these states, symptoms of discord and enmity quickly made their appearance. James Logan, who held the office of secretary to the governor and principal agent, or commissioner for land affairs for nearly forty years, by his upright and judicious management, contributed powerfully to the preservation of the friendship and alliance of the Indians. Upon his death, in the year 1751, the management of Indian affairs passed into other hands, by whom a very different line of policy was pursued towards them. About this time, also, a strong

current of prejudice set in against the peaceable manner with which the affairs of the province had hitherto been conducted by Friends, and endeavours were made to prevent them, as much as possible, from being returned as representatives to the assembly. This was so far successful, that in 1756, not more than twelve out of the thirty-six who composed that body were members of our Society.

The effect of this altered state of things was very soon to bring about an open rupture between the Indians and the government, which was attended with the most calamitous results, in which ravages of a frightful description were committed by the irritated and incensed aborigines, with reprisals on the part of the whites scarcely less barbarous in their character. The causes alleged for this outbreak by the natives in the various conferences held with them between the years 1755 and 1763, are thus described :—

“ First, the abuses committed in the Indian trade, which had been, more or less, of long continuance, and very difficult to be properly regulated or redressed ; though doubtless a great part of them might have been better guarded against and prevented than they really were.

“ Secondly, their being, as they insisted in later years, unjustly deprived, or dispossessed of part of their lands.

“ Thirdly, the death of Wekahelah, the Delaware chief, who was hanged in New Jersey, many years ago, which they could not forget, and say, it was only for accidentally killing a man.

“ Fourthly, the imprisonment of some Shawnese warriors in Carolina in time of peace, where the chief man of the party died.

“ Fifthly, the instigations of the French, who made an artful use of their complaints, or discontents, &c., to incite them against the English in the late war, &c.”

Although Friends were mostly excluded from places of trust and power in the government, yet from the commencement of hostilities with the Indians, they appear to have exerted them-

selves to bring about a reconciliation in a manner consistent with their pacific principles. Thus we find, that in 1756, soon after the first invasion of the frontiers of Virginia by the Indians in the French interest, Friends endeavoured to prevail with the government to enter into conciliatory measures with them. This proposal was, however, for some time disregarded. The Friends who were most actively engaged in forwarding it brought the subject under the consideration of the ensuing Yearly Meeting, but as that meeting viewed it as one of a civil character, it did not think that it properly came within its province, as representing a religious body, though the proceedings of Friends in their more individual capacity in the matter, were cordially approved of.

In the eleventh month of the same year an association was formed, chiefly among Friends, "For gaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures." This association continued its exertions to the time of the definitive treaty in 1764, during which period committees were annually elected by its subscribers, and many thousands of pounds were raised to promote the object they had in view. The money thus raised was expended chiefly in presents to the Indians, in order to conciliate them, and sometimes with a view to prevail on them to seek out and release the settlers whom they had taken prisoners. These exertions seem to have had a most salutary effect, and, indeed, appear to have been mainly instrumental in restoring the peace of the province.

During the time of this Indian war, Friends, with a view to watch over the interests of the poor natives, thought it right to attend the treaties, which, from time to time, were held between them and the settlers, although their attendance was far from being agreeable to the latter. In the year 1757, John Churchman, who with some other Friends attended on one of these occasions, thus alludes to it.

"On the 12th of the seventh month this year I left home, in order to attend a treaty to be held between the Indians

and our government at Easton, in Northampton county, and proceeded to Philadelphia, where I was present at several conferences with Friends; the governor having declared his dislike to their attendance at that treaty, or their distinguishing themselves by giving the Indians any presents. The result was, that as mutual tokens of the revival of ancient friendship had passed between them and the Indians, with a view to promote a general peace, it would be of bad consequence now to neglect or decline attending on this important occasion; though it was judged necessary for Friends to act with great caution."

The following extracts from epistles addressed by the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia to our own, will more fully exhibit the concern of Friends in this important matter, and the success which, under the Divine blessing, attended their labours therein, viz :

1757. "It hath yielded great pleasure and satisfaction to Friends here in general that we had their company, [Christopher Wilson and John Hunt,*] at the treaty with the Indians, soon after their arrival, and that our friend, John Hunt, had, by his continuing among us, an opportunity of attending the two last treaties; and hath been particularly acceptable to those who are concerned in prosecuting the intention of Friends in promoting pacific measures with those people."

1759. "Although the Friends concerned in this affair have had various difficulties and opposition to encounter, yet, by steadily proceeding, and the blessing of Divine Providence having favoured their endeavours, they have now the satisfaction to observe some of the good purposes at first intended are obtained." "You may observe, that although our Yearly Meeting was timely informed of the union and proceedings of the Friends concerned in the association, and showed an approbation thereof, yet divers considerations at that time, especially as some parts of the business appeared to be of a civil nature, concurred to prevent their taking it under their direction." "Our well esteemed friend, Samuel Spavold,* under whose care we intend to convey this to you, attended the last treaty between the Indians and these governments at Easton."

1760. "It will be a great advantage to the public, and afford real satisfaction to us, to find at the general treaty, which is expected to be held

* Then on a religious visit to America from England.

with the Indians next summer, that the Governor hath full power to terminate the controversies which are subsisting respecting their lands in the northern part of Pennsylvania. Until this is done the release of some hundreds of our fellow-subjects who remain in captivity, can hardly be expected to be obtained. The pacific measures which through much difficulty have been pursued, being blessed with happy effects, the Friends immediately concerned therein are encouraged to continue their endeavours. And it appearing to them necessary at this time to address the proprietaries of that province, we hope the account they are able to give of their first motives to engage in that important business, and their proceedings therein to the present time, will tend to remove some of those prejudices which have heretofore prevailed, and engage a favourable attention to the important subjects of re-establishing peace on the principles of justice and equity."

Notwithstanding that the distracting and deplorable consequences of the Indian wars in North America, appeared to demand so large a measure of the care and attention of Friends to promote their termination, we nevertheless find that they were not unmindful of the spiritual interest of the natives, and the good advice of George Fox, to "invite all the Indians and their kings, and have meetings with them," appears to have been acted upon to some considerable extent. Our means of ascertaining the amount of labours of this description are but very imperfect, being principally confined to occasional notices contained in epistles received by our Meeting for Sufferings from that of Philadelphia, and in a few of the journals of Friends, engaged on religious service. We extract the following in relation to this subject from the journal of John Woolman. During a visit which he paid to the Indians in the year 1763, he thus writes :

"I was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of these Indians, who, by the permission of the Six Nations, dwell in these parts. A near sympathy with them was raised in me; and my heart being enlarged in the love of Christ, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction, does not exceed what I then felt for that people." "This day, though I had the same dan-

gerous wilderness between me and home, I was inwardly joyful that the Lord had strengthened me to come on this visit, and had manifested a fatherly care over me in my poor lowly condition, when in mine own eyes I appeared inferior to many among the Indians." For further particulars relating to this interesting journey we refer our readers to the journal itself.

In 1773, in consequence of the very rapid and extensive progress of the settlements towards the interior, most of the aborigines had retired considerably further to the westward, and were thereby deprived of receiving the attention and instruction of Friends to that extent which otherwise, no doubt, would have been the case. But although thus situated, and very much out of the way of meeting with Friends, they nevertheless appear to have retained a high appreciation of the labours which from time to time they had bestowed upon them, and for several years had repeatedly solicited Friends of Philadelphia to send some well qualified persons to settle among them for their religious instruction, and which also they warmly urged upon the consideration of the Governor of Pennsylvania in their messages from their councils. In the following year Zebulon Heston, an aged Friend in the station of a minister, who for several years had been under a religious concern for the Indians, proposed a visit to them, which met with the full unity of his friends; and John Parish, a member of the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, having an engagement of mind to accompany him, was encouraged to do so. The most distant settlement of Indians which they visited was computed to be about 120 miles beyond the Ohio, or about 450 miles from Philadelphia. In this difficult journey they were preserved safe from injury, and were received by the natives with much openness and kindness; and having performed the service with satisfaction, returned, after an absence of about ten weeks.

The opportunity which this visit afforded, of conveying to the natives a testimony of the regard still entertained by

Friends towards them, was embraced, and an epistle was forwarded to them, which, with the answer thereto, evidencing a considerable degree of Christian knowledge and feeling, we subjoin; viz. :—

EPISTLE TO THE INDIANS FROM PHILADELPHIA MEETING FOR
SUFFERINGS, 1773.

To Netawattwalemun and the rest of the Head-men of the Delaware Indians at Kekailammapaikung, and to John Papunehang, and the rest of the Indian brethren at Welhick, Thuppeck, and all other Indians living beyond the Ohio, to whom these may come,

BRETHREN,

Your friends, the people called Quakers, in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, often remember you with desires for your welfare and happiness, and that the old friendship, which was made between your fathers and ours, may still be maintained, and may ever continue between your and our children and grandchildren from one generation to another, then it will always be pleasing to us to hear from and to see one another.

Brethren,—The several messages received from you by our brother Kilbuck and Joseph Peepy last year and the year before made deep impressions on the minds of such of us as were present when they were delivered, and have often since excited our thoughts of them, we, in our answers, informed you we were in hopes the love of God, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, would engage and constrain some of the ministers of the gospel to visit you, and until such should be thus sent among you, we desired you to attend diligently to the instructions of the Spirit of Christ within you, by which you may come to know your duty to God and one unto another.

Brethren,—We are all of us unable rightly to obtain this saving knowledge by our own wisdom and strength, we should therefore humbly and diligently wait for the Spirit of Christ to enlighten our minds, and to give us the right understanding by which we may see that in a state of nature we are weak, blind, and miserable, and can never come to a state of true happiness without a Saviour, and if we receive this understanding with thankful hearts, and sincerely desire the help of Christ our Saviour, he will, by the renewed working of his good Spirit, instruct us more and more.

Brethren,—The ministers of Christ, who are really led by his Spirit, and faithfully attend to his instructions, may be useful, and a great help to others, by informing them what they have tasted and felt of his love, and when they speak from the constraints of that love, are often instrumental to raise the feeling sense of it in those to whom they speak, but all they

can do, or should desire to do, is to bring men to Christ, that they may know and feel him for themselves, as he is graciously manifesting himself by his Spirit within them; for that which is to be known of God is manifested within, and without this knowledge, no outward performance of any kind will work out their salvation, and bring them from a state of nature to a state of grace, wherein they may witness salvation through the blood of Christ, which was shed for the redemption of all men.

We fervently desire you may come truly to know and experience this, every one of you in and for yourselves, for no man can do this work for his brother, nor for his nearest friend.

Brethren,—We write this to you by our beloved friend Zebulon Heston, whose mind being influenced with the love of Christ, and constrained thereby, engages him to go and visit you, being desirous, though an old man, to see you before he dies, and to express something of the goodness of God, which he hath known to preserve him from his youth to this day. He hath approved himself a faithful minister of Christ, both in word and doctrine, and in life and conversation, and we hope you will receive him as our true friend and brother.

As the journey is long, he is accompanied by our friend and brother, John Parish, whose love to you is so great, that he is willing likewise to go and see you.

We sincerely desire and pray that they may be instrumental to do you good, and that the blessing of God may attend you and them, and that you may show forth to them that first mark of the disciples of Christ, which is true love one unto another.

Your desire of having some religious instructors for your children, we very heartily approve, and as you have been before informed, whenever we can find any rightly qualified and willing to undertake the service, we intend to assist and encourage them in it.

The letter from John Papunehang, and his brethren at Welhick and Thuppeck, was lately sent to some of us by John Etivein, and it is very pleasing to us to hear of your prosperity and settlement there, the increase of which we sincerely desire.

In much brotherly love we salute you, and are your friends and brethren.

Signed at a Meeting of Friends appointed to represent our Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at Philadelphia, the 8th day of the 7th month, 1773.	}	Israel Pemberton, and many other Friends.
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ANSWER OF THE INDIANS TO THE PHILADELPHIA EPISTLE DELIVERED
AT KEKAILAMMAPAIKUNG, 28th of the 7th MONTH, 1773.

“After a meeting held for Divine worship, Captain Whiteyes spoke as follows:—

“We are glad, and rejoice in our hearts, to see our brothers the Quakers standing speaking before us, and what you have said we believe to be right, and we heartily join in with it.

“Since our Saviour came a Light into the word, there has been a great stir amongst the people about religion, some are for one way, and some for another; we have had offers of religion many times, but would not accept of it, till we see our brothers the Quakers, and hear what they would say to us; and now you have come and opened the road, we have heard what you have said, and we feel the grace that was in your hearts conveyed to us.

“We think that as we two brothers, the Quakers and Delawares, were brought up together as the children of one man, it is our Saviour’s will we should be of one religion.

“Now you have come and opened the road, we expect to see the way from town to town, quite over to the great king [meaning the King of Great Britain, &c.] over the water, then our king will know that the Quakers and Delawares are as one man, and make one religion.

“We are poor and weak, and not able to judge for ourselves, and when we think of our poor children it makes us sorry; we hope you will instruct us in the right way, both in things of this life as well as the world to come.

“Now what we have said we hope to be strengthened to abide by.”

They then delivered the belt.

Although the Indians were located at a considerable distance from Philadelphia, some of their chiefs nevertheless occasionally visited that city on business with the Government. On these occasions it was the practice of Friends to take much notice of them, and to treat them with a kind and friendly regard, in order to inculcate on their minds a peaceable disposition, and to maintain with them that cordiality of feeling which, from the settlement of the colony, had subsisted between the Indians and Friends. Two such occurrences took place in 1791, one of which was with a Seneca chief, whose name signifies Corn Planter, with a few others

of the Six Nation Indians. At their departure, Corn Planter left the following request, which was communicated to the Meeting for Sufferings there, which returned him the answer subjoined.

In 1792 a similar occurrence took place with a deputation of six Indians from the southern nations of Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. During their stay at Philadelphia, the occasional interviews and discourse which they had with Friends, so impressed their minds, that the chief of them desired that what had been said to them might be committed to writing, the better to enable him to report it to the people of his country, which was complied with; the substance of which we also annex.

THE REQUEST OF THE SENECA CHIEF, CORN PLANTER, AND THE
ANSWER OF FRIENDS.

“To the Children of the Friends of Onas, who first settled in Pennsylvania.
The request of the Corn Planter, a Chief of the Seneca Nation.

“BROTHERS,

“The Seneca nation see that the Great Spirit intends that they shall not continue to live by hunting, and they look around on every side, and inquire who it is that shall teach them what is best for them to do. Your fathers have dealt fairly and honestly with our fathers, and they have charged us to remember it; and we think it right to tell you, that we wish our children to be taught the same principles by which your fathers were guided in their councils.

“Brothers,—We have too little wisdom among us, we cannot teach our children what we perceive their situation requires them to know, and we therefore ask you to instruct some of them; we wish them to be instructed to read and to write, and such other things as you teach your own children; and especially to teach them to love peace.

“Brothers,—We desire of you to take under your care two Seneca boys, and teach them as your own; and, in order that they may be satisfied to remain with you, and be easy in their minds, that you will take with them the son of our interpreter, and teach him also according to his desire.

“Brothers,—You know that it is not in our power to pay you for the education of these three boys; and therefore you must, if you do this thing, look up to God for your reward.

"Brothers,— You will consider of this request, and let us know what you determine to do. If your hearts are inclined towards us, and you will afford our nation this great advantage, I will send my son as one of the boys to receive your instruction, and at the time which you shall appoint."

Signed Feb. 10, 1791,

in presence of

Jos. NICHOLSON.

his
CORN PLANTER 
mark.

FROM THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, THE CHILDREN AND DESCENDANTS OF THOSE PEACEABLE PEOPLE WHO FIRST SETTLED IN PENNSYLVANIA, BEING THE FRIENDS OF ONAS.

"To Corn Planter, the Seneca Chief; or to Joseph Nicholson, the Interpreter, to be by him explained to the said Chief.

"The written message of Corn Planter, dated at Philadelphia on the 10th day of February last, was not received by us until some weeks after. His request, that we would take under our care two Seneca boys, one of them his own son, accompanied with the son of Joseph Nicholson, we have considered, and do agree to receive them when they can be conveniently sent to us; intending they shall be treated with care and kindness, and instructed in reading, writing, and husbandry, as the children of our Friends are taught; the Governor of Pennsylvania, when informed of this proposal, having expressed his approbation thereof, as did General Knox.

"Signed on behalf, and by appointment of, a Meeting of the representatives of the said people, the 2nd day of the 6th month, called June, 1791,"

By several Friends.

SUBSTANCE OF THE CONVERSATION OF FRIENDS, AT SEVERAL INTERVIEWS WITH THE DEPUTIES FROM THE INDIAN SOUTHERN NATIONS, CHEROKEES, CREEKS, CHICKASAWS, AND CHOCTAWS, AT PHILADELPHIA, 2ND MONTH, 1792.

"Copy interpreted to them, and delivered to their Chief 19th of 2nd month, several Friends being present.

"Brothers of the Cherokee Nation, or Red People,

"We who have spoken with you are glad to see you here, and rejoice that you are come as messengers of peace.

“ We wish you to know that there are many of our brethren, called Quakers, settled in most of the United States, who are lovers of peace, and do not meddle with war ; and we are very sorry that there hath been wars and bloodshed between you and the people of the United States ; for we believe that we are all children of the same Great Creator, who intended that we should live in love and peace with each other ; but when any of his children get drunk, cheat, steal, or hurt and kill one another, he is displeased with them ; and when they will not regard his good Spirit placed in their hearts, then they go into all kinds of wickedness, which brings misery upon them, and they are not afraid even to destroy the lives which came from the hands of the Great Creator.

“ But if we pray to him for the help of his good Spirit, and feel it in our hearts and attend to it, we learn to pity those that the evil spirit makes unhappy, and we can do good even to our enemies.

“ We therefore much desire that our brothers of the Cherokee nation may be brought more and more to the knowledge of the Great Creator, and that as his children they may live in love and peace with each other, and with all men ; and then we believe the Red People would not live so much by hunting, but employ themselves in tilling the ground, learning useful trades, and get proper schoolmasters to teach their children, that they might be brought up to love and obey the great and good Spirit who made them.

“ These things we wish our brothers of the Cherokee nation to think of, and above all to pray in their hearts to the great and good Spirit, for his help in all their honest undertakings, that they may be happy in this life, and after death in an everlasting eternity.

“ We desire these words from us, your brothers, may take deep hold in your minds and warm your hearts, so that you may be strengthened to tell them to the people of your nation.

“ We also pray that the great and good Spirit may conduct you home in safety, and make you the messengers of good tidings from the Government of the United States.

“ Farewell.”

Philadelphia,
the 19th of the 2nd month, 1792.

Signed by several Friends.

In 1792 a fresh war, which broke out between the Indians and the United States, “ devastating the frontier settlements and staining the land with blood,” introduced the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia and its Meeting for Sufferings into much concern respecting it, and a strong sympathy was

felt for the poor injured Indian natives of the country, who, feeling themselves aggrieved by being in their apprehension unjustly deprived of the land which by inheritance they claimed as their own, were in vain endeavouring, by physical force, to maintain the territory against these encroachments.

Deeply affected with the horrors attendant on this cruel contest, the Yearly Meeting in 1792 nominated a large committee to unite with the Meeting for Sufferings in endeavours to promote a termination of these hostilities. With this view, in the eleventh month of this year, a memorial was presented to the President and Congress of the United States, recommending the adoption of such pacific and just measures towards the natives as might arrest the further shedding of blood, and establish peace upon a firm basis.

In the second month of the following year the Meeting for Sufferings being informed that a treaty for the settlement of these differences was intended to be held at Sandusky in the State of Ohio, and several Indian tribes having expressed to Friends, by Indian messengers and by a letter, a strong solicitude for their attendance at this treaty, as having a special confidence in their integrity, it was concluded to embrace this opportunity for promoting the desired pacification. Several Friends about this time feeling a religious engagement of mind to visit the Indian country, they were deputed, after having obtained the approbation of the President, to attend the said treaty on its behalf, and to present to the natives an address signed by forty-four members of this Meeting, expressive of their desire that the Indians might live in love and peace with each other, and with the whites near them, and that the friendship which had so long existed between them and Friends might continue.

Of this journey, which proved to be one of great exposure and personal suffering to those who undertook it, William Savery, who was one of them, has preserved some memorandums, from which it appears that they left Philadelphia in

the fifth month, 1793, for New York, and then proceeded by way of Albany, Mohawk River, Lakes Oneida and Ontario, to Niagara Fort; from whence they sailed up the river Niagara and Lake Erie to Detroit. The few following extracts are taken from William Savery's account, viz. :—

“Sixth month 6th. The wind pretty fair: sailed pleasantly [on Lake Erie] and in much harmony; the time spent agreeably and usefully. We conversed with the Indians, and made them some small presents, with which they were much pleased.

“Sixth-day, 21st. A number of Indians arrived from many hundred miles to the north-west. They were frightfully painted; their dress more singular than any I have yet seen, and generally large muscular men. It is amusing to reflect on the vast distance they travel in their canoes along the continual chain of lakes and rivers in this part of America.

“29th. Visited by a Wyandot chief, who said he remembered some long and broad belts that were given to Friends in former treaties, which were intended to bind us together by the hands and arms, so that no small accident in future should be able to make a separation: and notwithstanding all that had happened, the Wyandots felt some of the old affection to remain. We assured him we had the same love and friendship for them that our forefathers had, and that our principles had always restrained us from war; but, believing our Government was disposed to make peace with them on principles of justice, we were made willing to leave our families and take this long journey, to endeavour to promote it, and to be present at the conclusion of so good a work. He replied he knew long ago that our Society did not fight; that he was glad to see us here on so good a work; and that as we had come a long journey, and were all preserved in health, as he saw us, it was evident the Great Spirit was pleased with our journey, and he hoped some good would be done, and that the Great Spirit would bring us home in health and safety.

"10th. Visited by several Indians, some of whom understand a little English, and appeared pleased with our views in coming here. The Shawnese, Wyandots, and Delawares all appear to have more or less knowledge of Friends, and acknowledged that they have confidence in the Society, because we are peaceable and just. We have seen some of almost every nation which are collected at the council, and have been more or less conversant with them every day since we arrived.

"16th. About four o'clock in the afternoon, a canoe was discovered coming from a point a few miles distant, manned by two Indians, who proved to be deputies from the council; they brought a definite message in writing, importing that the council had considered the answer of the commissioners to the former deputies, and objected to several parts of it, viz.:—

"They did not acknowledge the right of pre-emption to their lands as vested in the United States; but that they, (the Indians) had a right to sell them to whom they pleased.

"That all the lands west of the Ohio were theirs, and that as we had told them of a large sum of money which we would give them to confirm the sale of those lands to us, they advised the commissioners to give it to the poor people who occupied them, and remove them away, and that unless this was acceded to a meeting was unnecessary."

Soon after their return from this arduous engagement, the Friends made the following report to the Meeting of Sufferings, viz.

REPORT OF THE FRIENDS APPOINTED TO ATTEND AN INDIAN TREATY
IN THE YEAR 1793.

"To the Meeting for Sufferings,

"Agreeable to the prospect we laid before the meeting in the 4th month last, of attending a treaty with the Indians, proposed to be held at Sandusky, and if way should open to visit them at other places, and also some of the frontier inhabitants—

"There being three commissioners appointed by the United States to

hold the said treaty, it was thought most advisable that we should go in company with them; accordingly three of us set out with two of them by land, and three with the other commissioner from New York, by water. On our way, each company met with some chiefs and principal men of the Five Nation Indians, and had satisfactory opportunities with them. We were all favoured to meet together at Niagara, and in the neighbourhood of that place found a number of families professing with Friends, who had removed from different parts of our Yearly Meeting, among whom we distributed a few books, of which they were very destitute, and had several meetings with them and other inhabitants of those parts, and while there, were visited by several principal Indians, who were on their way to the council; some of us also made a visit to two Indian villages a few miles from the landing. After continuing a few days there, and finding the treaty was not likely to commence so soon as was expected, with the approbation of the Governor of Upper Canada, and the commissioners of the United States, (who remained at Navy Hall,) we embarked at Fort Erie with several interpreters, and about sixty Indians, on board a British vessel, bound for Detroit, three hundred miles westward, believing that to be the place where the object of our journey could be more fully answered. During our passage we held a meeting on board the vessel, which several of the Indians attended, and expressed their satisfaction therewith. We spent above six weeks at Detroit, in which time many Indians of different nations passed through the town, on their way to the great council at the rapids of Miama river, with whom we had frequent opportunities of conversation, and informed them of the concern of the body of Friends, and the nature of our profession and peaceable principles, to which several nations were not strangers, particularly the Wyandots, Shawnese, and Delawares; some also, who had heard of us at the council, came from thence, about sixty or seventy miles, to visit us. They mostly listened to us with attention, and appeared glad to see us, approving of our intention to be at the treaty, and one of their chiefs said, he thought the Great Spirit was pleased with our coming.

“While we remained at Detroit, we were also visited by a number of peaceable Moravian Indians, who are now settled at the river La-tranche, about seventy miles from thence, upon a tract of land granted them by the English Government. On conversing with them, we found that by being driven from place to place during the war, they were become very poor, and in immediate want of provisions, being about one hundred and forty in number; we therefore, commiserating their circumstances, thought proper to afford them some relief, which we did to the amount of one hundred dollars, and wrote a letter to them, which they answered in very grateful terms.

"We had a number of public meetings in Detroit and near it, among a people who were much uninformed of our principles; they were held to good satisfaction, and we believe tended to the information of the people, and hope truth did not suffer. The inhabitants, both civil and military, were respectful and hospitable to us.

"At length the commissioners arriving at the mouth of the river, and expecting to be soon invited to the treaty, we went and encamped with them, and were present at several interviews between them, and about thirty Indian chiefs, who were a deputation from the great council; at the conclusion whereof, it appeared doubtful whether we should have an opportunity with the Indians collectively or not, and having before exchanged a letter with Alexander M'Kee, a British agent, and superintendent of Indian affairs, who was at the council, we thought best to send to his care, the address of Friends here to the Indians, with a letter written by us, which we requested him to lay before them in full council, and from his style of writing to us, we hoped he would readily comply therewith. During our stay here, which was above three weeks, we had some meetings among the poor frontier inhabitants.

"The Indians' final reply from the grand council being at length received by the commissioners, the business closed without a general treaty, and our hopes of having a further opportunity with the Indians, or seeing a peace accomplished at that time, being entirely frustrated, we all embarked again for Fort Erie, on our way home, from whence some of us returned by land and others by Montreal, and from thence to New York, chiefly by water.

"The Friends who came home by land spent about a week among the professors with us about Niagara, and had several meetings with them; visited most of the families, and obtained a more perfect account of their numbers and circumstances, there being in the whole between thirty and forty families, divers of whom are members, and we think their situation claims the sympathy and care of our Yearly Meeting.

"Notwithstanding the desirable object of peace was not obtained, we have not a doubt of the rectitude of our submitting to go on the arduous and exercising journey; we believe it tended to renew the ancient friendship with the Indian natives, and although we were not admitted to see them in full council, yet have reason to believe they were all made acquainted with our motives and friendly sentiments towards them, through divers of their chiefs.

"We were preserved together in much unity of prospect, and harmony of concern during the journey, and were favoured to return with a portion of peace, having been generally preserved in good health, though most of

us were for some time unwell with a fever, and our friend Joseph Moore is since deceased.

"Our minds were much affected in hearing of many lamentable and distressing consequences attending war with these Indians, and it appears to us, that there remains as great a necessity as ever for Friends to keep the sorrowful subject in view, and embrace, as wisdom may direct, every opportunity to promote the weighty concern of our Yearly Meeting.

"Philadelphia, "JOHN PARISH, JOHN ELLIOTT,
12th month 2nd, 1793." JACOB LINDLEY, WILLIAM HARTSHORN."
WILLIAM SAVERY,

The Delaware nation of Indians with whom Friends in former years had frequent intercourse, and who now resided near Muskingham, were this year visited by two of our members. The following speech of one of their chiefs, named Neet-wot-willimon, on this occasion, evinces the strong desire that prevailed with these people to be instructed more perfectly concerning those things, to the excellency of which the eye of their minds was already open, viz.—

"Brothers, we are glad, and rejoice in our hearts to see our brothers, the Quakers, speaking before us—we feel the grace that is in your hearts conveyed to us, and we wish to be of the same religion; but we are poor and weak, and not capable of judging for ourselves; we hope you will have pity upon us, and instruct us how to gain a more comfortable living—and, also, how we may come to obtain everlasting happiness. When we think of our poor children, our hearts are affected with sorrow—we hope you will send us teachers."

It was about this time that the benevolent attention of our late friend Thomas Eddy, of New York, was directed to the subject of the amelioration of the condition of the Indian races, more especially of that small remnant who still retained possession of a part of the state of New York. Towards these people he cherished, during a long life, a kind and affectionate regard, often relieving their bodily necessities, and ministering to their other various wants. "His

hospitable mansion," says Knapp, his biographer, "was a wigwam to the travelling Indian, where he drank when thirsty, and ate when hungry. He sometimes had a dozen Indians, men, women, and children, in the house at once." In the year 1793, in company with another Friend, he visited the Brothertown, Stockbridge, Oneida, and Onondago tribes, in order to make himself more thoroughly acquainted with their situation, habits, and character, with a view to the adoption of some specific plan for improving them, and for many years after this he was actively engaged in promoting plans devised for this purpose.

In the year 1794 another opportunity occurred for Friends of Pennsylvania to manifest their unabated interest in the welfare of the Indians, and their deep sympathy with them in the sufferings to which their own vices, and the deceits practised upon them by designing men, now more than ever exposed them. In the eighth month of this year it was understood, that a treaty was to be held at Canandaigua, in the state of New York, between commissioners appointed on behalf of the United States and the chiefs of the Six Nations, and that the latter were particularly desirous of the assistance of Friends on the occasion, and that the Government did not object to Friends uniting in the service. In consequence of this intelligence, four Friends, under an apprehension of religious duty, offered themselves to the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, to attend this treaty on its behalf, which being approved, they were furnished with a number of articles as presents for the Indians, accompanied with an address suited to the occasion, signed by upwards of forty Friends.

William Savery, whose benevolent and sympathising mind was deeply affected with the wrongs of his injured red brethren, was one of the four Friends who undertook to assist in adjusting their grievances. The following extracts from the narrative drawn up by him, which are contained in the instructive memoir of his life, will put the reader in pos-

session of some interesting particulars connected with this visit.

“28th, First-day. Having appointed a meeting to begin at eleven o’clock, it was largely attended by the people and a considerable number of Indians, so that the house could not contain the whole.

“Tenth month 2nd, fifth-day. Six of the Indians, each of them brought in a deer, and one of them made us a present of a piece, signifying that he gave it to us for Jesus Christ’s sake, who had made us brethren.

“First-day, 5th of the month. The weather not being very favourable, the meeting was not so large as last first-day, nor so satisfactory. The Indians were remarkably sober, making but little noise; the Oneidas pay some regard to the first-day of the week.

“12th. In the afternoon we went at four o’clock to the Oneida camp, having previously informed the chiefs of our intention of a meeting there, the interpreter being with us. We found some collected in the woods, where many trees were felled which served as seats, and one of the chiefs went round the camp, vociferating a certain sound used as a signal for them to assemble, which they did in large numbers. The curiosity of the white people being raised, and some coming from other motives, we had a large and good meeting, which held till near sunset.

“13th. Ruminating on the state of the Oneida Indians, who are said to be more civilized and better instructed in religion than any others, it is natural to inquire what influence it has had on their manners and morals, which, from anything I can discover, has yet been very small. It is true, they generally cultivate a small portion of land, and for that reason are less exposed to absolute want than other Indians; they have also heard of Jesus Christ through their missionary, and have been taught to sing psalms and hymns in their own soft and engaging language; but it appears to me that the great body of the nation have received the gospel in

word only, and not in power. It has therefore had but little influence on their conduct; and a few excepted, they appear to remain enslaved to all the vices common to the other Indians; yet I think the way is gradually preparing when some more enlightened and spiritual men than have yet been their teachers, men who will unite example with precept, may be sent among them with a good effect.

“18th. This morning Corn Planter, Farmer’s Brother, Red Jacket, Little Beard, and a number more of the Seneca chiefs, came to our lodgings to hold a conference, the interpreter being with them. Corn Planter congratulated us upon our safe arrival among them, and acknowledged the kindness of General Washington, in informing Friends of the request of the Indians, that they should attend the treaty. He then opened the business which more particularly occasioned their present visit. This was to answer a request made to them a year or two past by Friends at Philadelphia, that they might make inquiry after the Indians or their descendants, who formerly lived about Hopewell in Virginia. He said that they had conferred together on the subject several times, and believed they had come to the knowledge of the original owners of that land, two of whom, ancient men, were now present, who said their people were once settled about Conestogo, and that they remembered well the state of matters respecting the land in question: they had no doubt those two ancient men could clear up the matter to our satisfaction at a future opportunity, and would retire for the present.

“20th. This evening Friends being quietly together, our minds were seriously turned to consider the present state of these Six Nations; and a lively prospect presented, that a mode could be adopted by which Friends and other humane people might be made useful to them in a greater degree than has ever yet been effected; at least for the cause of humanity and justice, and for the sake of this poor declining people, we are induced to hope so. The prospect and feel-

ings of our minds were such as will not be forgotten, if we are favoured to return home.

“ 29th. Sagareesa, or the Sword-carrier, visited us: he appears to be a thoughtful man, and mentioned a desire he had, that some of our young men might come among them as teachers; we supposed he meant as schoolmasters and artizans. Perhaps this intimation may be so made use of in a future day, that great good may accrue to the poor Indians, if some religious young men of our Society could, from a sense of duty, be induced to spend some time among them, either as schoolmasters or mechanics.

“ 2nd. Held a meeting for worship in the school-room: a number of Friends residing in this part of the country came in, and a considerable body of Indians were in and about the house, several of whom, as well as the white people of other societies, behaved well, and it was thought to be a good meeting. We went immediately after meeting to the council, which had just assembled, and was very numerously attended both by Indians and whites.

“ First day, the 9th. Several Friends in this part of the country came to the meeting; one of them thirteen miles. A number of other white people attended, and a large number of Indians. It was a solid meeting; several, both of whites and Indians, were tender and wept; and after it was over, one man in a particular manner confessed to the truth, and prayed that the Lord might bless it to all who were present. On my part it was an affectionate farewell to the people hereaway.”

The difficulty respecting the land in the neighbourhood of Hopewell in Virginia, referred to in the foregoing extract, appears to have arisen from the circumstance of some of our members having purchased and settled upon lands in that district, the title to which was derived from Indians, who, there was reason to fear, had not obtained it in a just and upright manner from the original native possessors; and not-

withstanding most of the Indians were now removed far from the spot, Friends made efforts to find the rightful owners of the land, in order that they might be fully compensated for the same.

During the attendance of these Friends at the treaty, this subject was closely entered into : some of the Indians then present thought that the Conestogoes were the original proprietors, others that the Tuscaroras were. It was very clearly made out that the former were not entitled to it; of the latter, however, there seemed to be more uncertainty, and they were sanguine in their expectations concerning it. Some time after this several of the Tuscaroras visited Philadelphia, for the purpose of entering more minutely into the circumstances of the case; but after a full investigation and examination of ancient maps and documents, both by Friends and by the Indians, the claim of the Tuscaroras to this land could not satisfactorily be made out; nevertheless, as their expectations had been much raised respecting it, Friends, in order to lessen their feelings of disappointment in this issue of the question, raised a considerable sum of money to be handed as a present to them, with which they were highly pleased, and expressed themselves satisfied.

The following is an abstract of the report to the Meeting for Sufferings respecting the attendance of these Friends at the treaty, viz. :—

AN ABSTRACT OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO
ATTEND AN INDIAN TREATY IN THE YEAR 1794.

“ To the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia.

“ Dear Friends,

“ Agreeably to our prospect of attending the treaty to be held with the Indians of the Six Nations at Canandaigua, in New York Government, we left this city the 15th of the 9th month, and reached that place on the 26th of the same. On our arrival we found but about one hundred and sixty collected, and these chiefly of the Oneida tribe, with whom we had divers conferences before the others came in. We also found about thirty members of our religious society settled within the compass of fifteen

miles of the place of treaty, who had emigrated chiefly from the New England Government. These Friends, in their distant and scattered situation, appeared glad to see us, and engaged our attention and concern. We had meetings on the first days of the week during our continuance there, which were held to satisfaction, and attended by our fellow-professors and many others, both Indians and whites. Amongst these people we apprehend a few books might be profitably distributed.

“All the Indians who were expected being at length assembled, to the amount of sixteen hundred and upwards, the treaty commenced: we attended all the public councils, as well as some which were held by the commissioners more privately, and had frequent and satisfactory opportunities of conference with the Sachems and other chiefs, in which we endeavoured to impress their minds with a sense of the advantages to be derived from living in peace one with another, and with all men, and of the expediency of leading a more sober and quiet life, that they might draw down the Divine blessing upon them. They heard us with attention, and we hope it was not without some good effect. They still retain a lively remembrance of the just and friendly treatment their forefathers experienced from the first founder of Pennsylvania, continue to distinguish him by the name of Onas, and consider Friends as his descendants, expressing that if we deceive them they can no more place any confidence in mankind.

“Early in the business we presented the address of Friends, which was read and interpreted; they were attentive to its contents, and expressed their satisfaction.

“During our stay with them they made several speeches to us, and some difficulties occurring in the course of the treaty, they requested our counsel and advice, which we gave them, as well as we were qualified to do.

“At the close of the treaty we assembled the chiefs of all the nations, and delivered them the presents of Friends, which they gratefully received. Jasper Parish, an interpreter for Government, distributed them, at their request, agreeable to the number contained in each nation.

“We continued with them about seven weeks, and had no cause to doubt our having been in our proper places; yet with sorrow had to observe, that the pernicious effects of spirituous liquors being handed freely to them were highly injurious, and considerably retarded the issue of the business.

“Many are the difficulties and sufferings to which the Indians are subject, and their present situation appears loudly to claim the sympathy and attention of the members of our religious Society, and others, who have grown opulent on the former inheritance of these poor declining people.

We cannot but believe some mode may be fallen upon of rendering them more essential service than has yet been adopted.

“Our engagements were often very trying and straitening, yet, through the kindness of Providence, we were preserved in much harmony and unity through them all; and on the whole have reason to hope the object of the concern was in some degree answered, and are thankful in being permitted to return home with a portion of peace, after an exercising and fatiguing journey.”

“JOHN PARISH,
DAVID BACON,
WILLIAM SAVERY,
JAMES EMLIN.”

“Philadelphia, 20th of 12th month, 1794.”

PART II.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LABOURS OF FRIENDS OF THE YEARLY MEETING OF PHILADELPHIA, ON BEHALF OF THE INDIANS, FROM THE YEAR 1795 TO 1843.

IN the year 1794 the grievous hostilities which for many years had existed between the Indians and their white neighbours, was brought to a close. This happy result, which Friends had so much laboured to bring about, opened the way for the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia to take more decided and systematic steps than had hitherto been adopted, for promoting the Christian improvement and gradual civilization of the natives.

In 1795 this subject rested weightily on the minds of Friends at their Yearly Meeting, and a committee was appointed to take such steps to carry out the concern, as might appear most desirable. This committee before proceeding to take active measures in the prosecution of the object, thought it desirable first to ascertain the disposition of the various tribes in and about Pennsylvania. For this purpose they forwarded to the Indians circular letters, explanatory of the concern which Friends entertained for their welfare and improvement, accompanied with one from the Secretary of State, expressive of the approbation of the executive government of the union therein. The Oneidas, and some portion of the Stockbridge and Tuscarora tribes of Indians, who were settled on the Oneida reservation, were at that time the only ones who manifested a desire for improvement; and in the summer of 1796 three Friends approved by the committee, proceeded to settle among them. A few members of the committee accompanied these Friends. A pro-

minent object which the committee had in view, was to endeavour to encourage the Indians to cultivate their lands. They found the Indians willing to listen to their proposals, but, as was natural to men who had been hitherto unaccustomed to steady and settled habits of labour, most of them were averse to engage in it, and those who did so, soon grew weary of it. With a view, therefore, to exhibit to them the benefits arising from a cultivation of the soil, and to stimulate them by example, Friends proceeded to improve a piece of land without their assistance; a saw-mill also, belonging to the Oneidas, much out of repair, was put into good working condition.

In the succeeding winter, a school for the instruction of the children was opened, and an Indian, who was well qualified by education in New England, was engaged by the committee at a stated salary to teach the Stockbridge children.

In consequence of sickness prevailing among the Oneidas, but little progress was made by them during 1797. More advancement, however, was apparent among the Stockbridge tribe, who were this year assisted in the erection of a grist-mill, and a considerable number of implements of husbandry were distributed among the Cayuga and Onondago Indians.

One of the Friends, in the early part of 1798, being by sickness unequal to much labour, an attempt was made to hire some of the Indians as farm labourers; but from their irregular habits their assistance proved very inefficient. Some days nearly thirty of them would come to work, whilst on others not more than one could be procured. This difficulty was, however, met by engaging a number of the Indian youth and young men, who were boarded and fairly remunerated for their labour. A commodious barn and other out-houses were erected, and a large quantity of grain, hay, &c., was raised from the land cultivated by the young men, thereby very fully illustrating to the Indians the advantages

derived from the labour thus bestowed. Some difficulty being experienced from the want of a blacksmith to make and repair the agricultural implements, a Friend, qualified for this department, offered his services to the committee. He was encouraged to proceed, accompanied by his wife and another woman Friend, who had a concern to go. It was hoped that the two women Friends might be very usefully employed in instructing the women and girls. Notwithstanding the difficulty of getting the Indians to settle steadily into agricultural pursuits, a decided improvement had already taken place among them. Many of the Indian men, it is stated, would assist their wives in the cultivation of their little allotments of land, several of them also acquired considerable knowledge of the business of a blacksmith, and many of the young women and girls were instructed in spinning, knitting, sewing, school-learning, &c.

In 1799 the progress was more considerable. Several of the Indians had so far improved their parcels of land, as to raise wheat upon them. The farms, with the assistance of the Indian youths, continued to be worked, and the smith's business was attended to.

The exertions of the resident Friends were by no means limited to their immediate residence, but as suitable opportunities presented, they extended their labours to various parts of the Oneidas settlement, and in many ways rendered them important services.

The improvement thus made among these Indians, together with the various tools and farming implements distributed among them, had cost a large sum of money, but as they knew of no instance in which the whites had rendered them services without having some sinister view in doing so, a suspicion that Friends had similar intentions now became manifest in many of them, and fears were entertained by them that Friends would lay claim to a part of their land. In order to convince the natives that the only object which

Friends had in this engagement was their good ; and as it was thought that the progress they had now made in civilization was such as to enable them to procure a sufficient livelihood from their land, it was deemed best to withdraw from them, leaving all the improvements, tools, implements of husbandry, &c. behind for their use. Accordingly, after a friendly conference between four of the committee and the Indians, Friends took their leave, about the end of 1799. In an address which the Indians made on this occasion, they expressed a grateful sense for the labour which had been bestowed upon them, and wished Friends “ often to remember and visit them, to see whether they grew better or worse.”

Besides the aid rendered to this people at their own settlement, several of their young women and girls were placed in Friends’ families at Philadelphia, where they were taught to read and write, and received such other instruction as was likely to be beneficial to them on their return home. To show a specimen of the advancement made by these in school-learning, we shall here give a copy of a letter written by one of them about six months after her arrival among Friends.

“ New Garden, Third mo. 10th, 1798.

“ My dear Mother,

“ I will try to let thee know how I do so far from thee. I have been well ever since I left thee. I would be glad to see thee mother. I want to see thee, and brothers and sisters, and all Stockbridge friends. I want to see father—I like to live in this country pretty well—and dear friends clever—me live in clever house, very good man, make clocks, make porringers and spoons—me like to see him. I can knit stockings and spin. I have made sampler. I know how to mark my clothes, then I know my own. Three girls make bonnets, and do all work. I work a little, play a little, go to meeting a little ; sometimes walk, sometimes ride on

horseback, when roads are muddy. The girl's mother very good old woman ; I love her, she learns me to work.

“ MARY PETERS.”

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ Me live well at very good house. I love thee, and sisters, and mother. I want to see you all. Friends say, may be we all go back to Stockbridge before next winter. I think I have told thee all I can now, so bid thee farewell.

“ MARY PETERS.

“ N. B. This letter my own hand writing, so you may see I learn to write.”

The care of Friends was not confined to the Indians under their own immediate superintendence. Opportunities for friendly intercourse with Indians of more distant nations were carefully taken advantage of. Several occurred about this date. In the ninth month, 1796, two Creek lads were placed with Friends of Philadelphia to be instructed in school learning, where they remained several years. In the same year a number of mechanical tools were forwarded by Friends to this nation, accompanied with an address.

About the beginning of the year 1797, some satisfactory interviews were had with deputies from various nations, among whom were Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, inhabiting the northern and western parts of Georgia ; and Shawnese, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies, living on the Wabash river, bordering upon Lakes Michigan and Superior, to whom presents were made to a considerable amount. On these occasions Friends took pains to inform them of the nature and effect of their peaceable principles, and their testimony against all wars and fightings —of the care of the Society, in first settling in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, not to occupy lands that were not fairly purchased and paid for to the satisfaction of the natives, and of their care to maintain a friendship and harmony with them. They endeavoured also to explain to them how much

the attainment of this desirable and happy end depended upon cherishing in ourselves that feeling of love and charity which is inseparable from the true spirit and practice of Christianity. Several of them appeared to be much impressed with what passed on some of these occasions; one of them remarked particularly on the counsel imparted, not to revenge injuries, and gave repeated assurances, "that although he had heard of two of his people being killed, he was determined not to retaliate, but to adhere to peace;" another said, "A few days ago one of your women delivered a talk, which I have hid deep in my heart. I never heard such an one before. I want to tell it to my nation after I get home; and for fear I should forget some of it, I should like to have it in print, that it might be fully explained to them."

Several chiefs of the Miami, Ottawa, Pottawattomie, Chipeway, and some other western Indians, in 1798 had similar interviews with Friends in Philadelphia, to whom also presents were made.

In the early part of 1802 other chiefs of the Miamis and Pottawattomies visited Philadelphia, when Friends had satisfactory conferences with them; at one of which a chief, called Little Turtle, a noted Miami orator, expressed, in a very pathetic manner, his desire for the improvement of his people. Suitable advice was handed to them upon this subject, accompanied with presents. In the same year a number of the Delaware and Shawnee Indians came to this city. These being immediately descended from those tribes who so hospitably treated Friends on their first landing in Pennsylvania, claimed special notice, and "they were furnished with a considerable amount in money and goods adapted to their wants."

Turning from these interesting facts, we shall now resume our narrative of the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting's committee.

In the year 1798, the Seneca nation, observing the advantages which resulted to the Oneidas by the labours of Friends

among them, expressed a desire to be similarly instructed; and accordingly, three Friends offered themselves to go among them for this good purpose, and in the fifth month of this year proceeded to the Indian towns on the Alleghany river. The Indians gave them a warm reception, expressed their thankfulness to the Great Spirit for their safe arrival amongst them, and called a general council, in which the motives of the visit were set forth.

For the Indians to learn to plough, and do what was proposed, appeared at first to the Senecas as almost impossible, seeing, as they said, "they had no horses or oxen, and were poor, living in cabins covered with bark." They were told, that great things were not looked for at once, and were encouraged to make a beginning. At one of their councils, Corn Planter, their chief, said in an address to Friends upon this subject, "Brothers, we can't say a word against you. It is the best way to call Quakers brothers. You never wished any part of our lands, therefore we are determined to try to learn your ways, and these young men may stay here two years to try; and then, if they like it, and we like it, your young men may stay longer."

They were then informed that it was necessary for those young Friends to have some place for an habitation, and a piece of land to cultivate, in order to raise bread for themselves, and to set a good example to them; care being taken also to inform them, that the land should still be their own, with all the improvements upon it, when it was left, besides a number of hoes, axes, scythes, plough-irons, and other implements of husbandry, with carpenters', masons', and coopers' tools, which were on the way to the settlement. It was intended that, for the present, these should be *lent* to such Indians as wanted them for use, as if they were at once distributed as gifts, many who were addicted to intemperance would probably pawn or sell them to satisfy the cravings of a depraved appetite.

The spot fixed upon for a residence for Friends was an

ancient Indian village, called Genesanghota, where a few native families still resided. Its situation was near the boundary line of New York and Pennsylvania, and about the centre of the Indian settlements on the Alleghany river.

The oppressive labour which the Senecas imposed upon their women, in getting and bringing home fire-wood, and similar employments, whilst the men and boys were amusing themselves with shooting arrows, and in other diversions, was seriously laid before them, and its impropriety pointed out; and they were recommended to take their boys out to hoe and work in the fields. They were also reminded, that it was from the Good Spirit that every good thing was received, and that they were, equally with the white people, the objects of his tender care and regard; and that the great disparity between themselves and the white people, with regard to poverty and plenty, to which they so frequently alluded, was the natural result of the different modes adopted to procure the blessings of this life; and as the land they possessed was equally as good as the white people's, so also it would be equally productive, provided the same industry and means were pursued in its cultivation.

In the ninth month of the following year, four of the committee visited this settlement, to whom the advancement which the natives had made in civilization was very manifest. Several of the Indians were then building good log-houses, their crop of corn was very much increased, and several lots of land were under good fence. A school also had been kept up during the preceding winter for the children.

From this settlement Friends proceeded to Cattaraugus river, distant about forty-five miles, where a large number of the Senecas resided, who had requested to be supplied with a set of saw-mill irons, and other aid. Most of the chiefs being at the time from home, a letter was left, informing them, that as soon as they were prepared to build a mill, a set of saw-mill irons would be given them; and that if they

became more temperate in their habits, Friends would be encouraged to assist them still further. In a few months after, the Indians at Cattaraugus, in an answer to this letter, said, "The instructions that you gave, pleases us very much in general. You may rely upon it that we are going to follow your directions. We have fully determined to leave off drinking whiskey; and if there comes traders on, we have determined to order them off the ground."

A school was kept up in this establishment during the winter of 1799, but the number of children that attended was but few. In the following year a small school was again opened; but the Indians being indifferent to its advantages, it was soon dropped, and for long after no regular school was kept up; occasional opportunities were, nevertheless, embraced of instructing some of them in school learning.

In the latter end of 1801 the settlement was again visited by some of the committee, accompanied by a young Friend, a blacksmith, who went for the purpose of instructing the natives in that occupation. At this period several of the Indians were possessed of cows for the use of their families, and they were giving increased attention to the rearing of cattle, hogs, &c., and it was hoped that before long they would have a sufficient number of useful animals. They had also good crops of corn; several of them had mown grass, and made small stacks of hay; a fence, about two miles in length, had been made, enclosing one of their towns, and a large piece of land in front of the river, besides several other fences to separate the corn-ground from the pasture, &c. Their bark cabins were mostly pulled down, and replaced by good log-houses, with shingle roofs.

Whilst at Genesanghota Friends requested an interview with the chief women of the town. This was readily granted, and we learn that "they were favoured to make some communications pertinent to their situation." The women expressed thankfulness to the Great Spirit for affording them

this opportunity ; the words they said " had sunk deep into their hearts, and they hoped would never be forgotten by them."

The Indians now mostly refrained from strong drink, and conducted themselves very soberly, both at home and when abroad among the whites. One of them observed to the committee, " No more bark cabin, but good houses ; no more get drunk here now this two year."

Like their brethren the Oneidas, the Senecas began also to entertain a suspicion that, for the services Friends had rendered, and were rendering to them, a charge would be brought against them at some future time, and wished " to know very clear in writing about it." In order to set their minds at rest upon this matter, a document disclaiming any views of this kind was given to them, in reply to which they said, " We understand the writing which you gave us very well, and our minds are now quite easy."

From Genesanghota Friends proceeded to Cattarangus, at the invitation of the chiefs of that village, who were desirous to see them. They had just completed their saw-mill ; and after this proof of their perseverance, it was thought desirable that they should be well instructed in the working of it, and for this purpose a Friend from Genesanghota offered to remain with them awhile.

Towards the close of 1803 four of the committee again visited the settlement, and were encouraged to perceive the advancement which had been made since their last visit, in the different settlements on the Alleghany river, in works of industry and usefulness. A considerable number of new lots of land had been enclosed, and several families had as many as six and seven head of cattle, besides other useful animals ; three of the Indians were working steadily at the blacksmith business ; a large extent of fencing had been put up ; and roads to afford them a better communication from one village to another, were opened for about twenty-two miles in length. This last undertaking was, at that time, considered a

great work for the Indians. The use of ardent spirits among them had much declined ; indeed, the Indians were become so much alive to their dreadful effects, that they were not suffered to be brought into the settlement ; and if an Indian was found to have been intoxicated, he was sharply reprimanded and exposed by the chiefs, which it is said, "had nearly the same effect amongst the Indians, as committing a man to the workhouse* among the white people." "Brothers," said an Indian in his speech to Friends, "your young men and we have now lived together several years as brothers. When your young men came, the Indians were very ignorant, but now we are just beginning to learn. Your young men do not talk much to us, but when they do, they speak what is good, and have been very helpful in keeping us from using spirituous liquors."

The committee, besides inspecting the state of improvements, were authorized to take some steps for the removal of the Friends at this settlement to another part of it, about two miles further up the river, on a creek called Tunesassah, as it was thought that such a step would be attended with many advantages. After some explanation with the Indians, this met with their approval, more especially so, as all the tools and farming implements at Genesanghota were to be left for their use.

Having accomplished the purpose of their visit to this settlement, the committee next proceeded to Cattaraugus, where they were cordially welcomed by the chiefs, and had the satisfaction of noticing considerable improvement. Since the last visit of the committee to them, several had built good houses, and others were in the course of erection ; their crop of corn was large, and their stock of cattle increased ; and, generally speaking, they had become a sober people,

* This means, probably, an institution similar in character to the prisons of this country.

most of them having, for a long time, left off the use of spirituous liquors.

The committee also visited the Senecas at Buffalo Creek, and found the saw-mill just finished for which they had supplied them with the irons. They also visited the Tonawandas. At both places, and particularly the latter, many had left off the use of whiskey, and other strong drink, and were improving in habits of industry.

The land on Tunesassah Creek before adverted to, was soon after this contracted for, and the Friends at Genesanghota constructed a temporary house, and removed there before the winter came on. In 1804, a grist and saw-mill were erected there, also a house for the accommodation of the resident Friends. The Friend who had devoted himself in instructing the Indians at Genesanghota in the blacksmith business, spent the summer and autumn of this year at Tunesassah for the same purpose. The following extract from a letter from Tunesassah, in 1805, will exhibit the progress of the concern at that place, viz.:—

“It is pleasing to find a disposition for improvement continues to prevail amongst the younger class of Indians. Divers have now a considerable quantity of corn to sell; they often express the satisfaction they feel in seeing the fruits of their own industry, and frequently observe, that when they followed drinking whiskey, they could hardly clothe themselves, but by industry they now find their substance begins to increase.

“The continued resolution of these Indians against the use of spirituous liquors conduces much to the introduction and increase of civilized habits; and it is obvious that it has an improving effect on the other settlements of the Seneca nation.”

The satisfactory results of the labour thus bestowed were felt to be truly encouraging to those engaged in this benevolent enterprise; and a hope was entertained that, by patient perseverance, William Penn’s view of “reducing the savage

nations to gentle and just manners, to the love of civil society, and the Christian religion," would be realised. An individual, who was one of a deputation from the committee to the settlement in 1806, in speaking of this visit says, "I was astonished at the improvement made by the Indians within the last three years; for, notwithstanding my very sanguine expectations, they had considerably exceeded in labour and attention any opinion I had formed. The aspect of things was truly pleasing, indicating increasing industry and economy, and very encouraging to us, as proofs that our labours have not been in vain." He further observes, that "population is evidently increasing with them from this change in their way of life, and they appeared to enjoy good health."

Information of these successful efforts of our American brethren in this good cause having been, from time to time, by epistolary correspondence, and more generally by the press, communicated to Friends of this country, a deep interest was excited in their minds respecting it, and in 1806 it became the concern of our Yearly Meeting to recommend to its subordinate meetings a liberal subscription for its promotion. The following is the minute which was made on the occasion, viz :—

MINUTE OF THE YEARLY MEETING, 1806.

"The Minutes from the Meeting for Sufferings were brought in and read, and as it appears thereby, that the said meeting has distributed to the several Quarterly Meetings sundry copies of 'A brief Account of the Proceedings of a Committee appointed in the year 1795, by the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, &c., for promoting the Improvement and gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives.' Also of a similar account of the proceedings of a Committee appointed for the like purpose, by the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Baltimore. And as this meeting feels much interested therein, and is desirous of

promoting so useful and benevolent a work, it requests the several Quarterly Meetings to make a liberal subscription for the purpose, and remit the same as soon as convenient to their correspondents in London, and the Meeting for Sufferings is desired to remit the amount to the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia."

The amount subscribed by the various Quarterly Meetings upon this recommendation amounted to no less than £7092 18s. 6d., producing, in Pennsylvania currency, £11,770 16s. 8d. The Yearly Meetings of New York and Maryland being at this time also actively engaged in this work, it was thought right that they should be sharers in the encouragement thus given to it, and, accordingly, of the sum thus raised, £2250 was transmitted to Friends of New York, and £4760 8s. 4d. to Friends of Maryland, the remaining sum of £4760 8s. 4d., being retained by our Pennsylvania Friends.

The exertions of women Friends among the natives appear to have tended very considerably to their improvement. "Some of the Indian women and girls," says the report of 1807, "appear much disposed to be instructed by our women Friends; many of them have already learned to make soap, and some can spin and knit a little, and are much more clean in their persons and clothes than before our women came." A letter from Tunesassah, in 1809, states that "a disposition for improvement among the women and girls seems rather advancing; we are now furnished with a loom and tacklings, have had several pieces wove of their spinning, and there is some more on hand ready for the loom. The men have performed considerable labour this season, in improving and enlarging their fields; their crops of corn and other spring grain look promising; and we have observed more attention paid to the proper treatment of cattle and other useful animals among them than heretofore."

"It continues," says the report of 1809, "to be cause of thankful acknowledgment that the minds of Friends remain

so bound to the undertaking, as to furnish a succession of useful labourers in this interesting work. In the tenth month of last year, a Friend and his wife, who had, from a belief of duty, offered themselves to reside at the settlement at Tunesassah, and whose services, as well as those of a female Friend under a similar concern, were accepted, arrived in safety at that settlement, where, we trust, they are now usefully engaged."

The idea of distinct property among the Indians, as they continued thus to advance in civilization, became more and more prevalent among them, a circumstance calculated very much to promote their prosperity. Several of them, it appears, were in the way of acquiring a comfortable property by their industry.

The Indians at Cattaraugus having repeatedly applied for further assistance, and Friends apprehending that the object of the concern would be advanced by extending their operations in this quarter, made a contract in 1809 for a tract of land contiguous to the Cattaraugus reservation, and about forty miles north of the settlement at Tunesassah. During this year some clearing of land at this place was made, and between four and five acres sowed with wheat; progress also was made in the erection of a house, in order that a settlement might be formed there the ensuing season.

A letter received from the resident Friends at this new establishment, dated 12th of 12th month, 1810, conveys the following particulars relative thereto. "Divers of the natives continue to manifest a disposition to improve in useful industry. Some spinning continues to be done by the women; and a considerable quantity of yarn is now ready for the loom; so that on the whole there appears encouragement for further perseverance." In another letter, dated 15th of 3rd month, 1811, they add, "Divers have been engaged in splitting rails, and seem considerably animated with the prospect of farming, several of those who enclosed lots detached from the other villages have (from last summer's labour) lately

disposed of the produce of their farms to good advantage ; and as grain is much in demand in this country, some of them are about enlarging their fields for corn, &c., and say, they now begin to see the advantage of cultivating the soil, and rearing cattle, hogs, &c., above that of ranging the forest for support."

In addition to agriculture, spinning, and weaving, in 1810 the tanning of leather, on a small scale, was introduced among the Indians at the Tunesassah establishment. A letter from this place, dated 2nd of 12th month, 1811, gives the following cheering account of the progress there, viz. :—
 " The manufacturing of woollen and linen cloth gradually improves. Our crops of flax are already spun, sufficient to make one hundred and sixty yards of linen, which was finished about the time that in former years they began, and we expect considerably more would have been done if we had had flax, which we have no opportunity of procuring until spring. We have yet on hand wool and cotton, which some are and have been spinning. Out of one hundred and ten women residing on this reserve, upwards of fifty have come forward to learn to spin, twenty-five of whom are capable of making good yarn."

The following extract from a report made to the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia in the 4th month, 1815, by its committee having the charge of this interesting engagement, exhibits a continued improvement among the objects of their care.

EXTRACT FROM INDIAN REPORT OF 1815.

" In the latter part of the last year, a few of the committee, deputed for the purpose, visited the natives, and the Friends stationed amongst them, at Cattaraugus and Tunesassah ; extracts from whose report, appearing well calculated to inform the meeting of the state of the concern at those places, are here inserted, viz. :—

" " It appears that the Indians of this settlement (Cattaraugus) have, within three or four years past, inclosed with good fence and cultivated several hundred acres of land, a considerable proportion of which was in corn, potatoes, oats, &c., and generally looked well. A number of families

have raised wheat, and are preparing to sow more this fall ; several have raised flax, and about twenty-five of their women have learned to spin. During the late summer a number of the girls attended to this business, under the care of the women Friends here, and spun yarn sufficient to make near eighty yards of cloth, which was woven and divided amongst them : their women also manifest an improvement in cleanliness, both in their dress and houses.

“ ‘But three or four families remain in their old village, the rest having found it to their advantage to settle more detached from each other, and are now scattered along the rich flats for several miles. Considerable improvement has also taken place in the mode of building ; many have good houses, some have barns, and scarcely any of the old cabins are seen standing.

“ ‘They have five waggons and two carts, with which they draw much of their wood and produce, also several yoke of oxen and ploughs. Divers of them have planted fruit-trees ; some of the young men have manifested ingenuity in several branches of mechanical business.’ ”

“ On the state of the natives at Tunesassab, they observe—

“ ‘The Indians generally on this reservation have increased their stock of cattle, horses, and swine, quite equal to their means of supporting them through the winter : many of them have good crops of corn, oats, and potatoes, and several were preparing to sow wheat. But although their improvements in agriculture have not progressed much of latter time, owing in part to the interruption they have met with on account of the war, and the circumstance of some having again introduced liquor ; yet there are, in other respects, visible marks of an advancement in civilized habits : many of their women, especially in winter, have paid some attention to spinning ; they appear more cleanly in their persons and houses than they formerly did, and their manners and deportment in general have become more assimilated to the modes and practices of white people.’

“ ‘The residence of our Friends among the natives during the commotions occasioned by the war appears to have been especially useful, as is manifested by the speech of an old chief to the visiting committee in the ninth month last, who expressed the great satisfaction they had, that the Friends who lived beside them had remained so steady with them through their difficulties ; that although the great guns had roared so loud as to shake the ground whereon they stood, yet they remained quiet : which convinced them that our Friends must be under the protection of the Great Spirit. ‘We feel thankful to them,’ said he, ‘for staying by us ; if they go away, we shall be alarmed and fly also.’

“ ‘The committee are encouraged to hope that as tranquillity is restored

to our frontiers, the present period may be peculiarly fitted to the continued exertions of the Society, to attain the desirable end of this interesting concern.”

In consequence of some attempts having been made to influence the Indians residing on the Alleghany, Cattaraugus, and other reservations in the state of New York, to part with the soil and remove to distant and uncultivated parts, the committee, dreading the evil consequences which would result from such a step, proceeded in 1817 to address the President of the United States on their behalf. In this address they briefly set forth the sympathy which Friends had long felt for the distressed Indian inhabitants of the wilderness, and the benevolent and charitable exertions, in which more than 40,000 dollars had been expended for the purpose of promoting amongst them the principles of the Christian religion, as well as school learning, agriculture, and useful mechanic employments; and, with a view to secure to the Indians the possession of the small portion of land they retained, the President was urged to discourage the alienation of it from them, and to suggest to them the advantage which would arise to their community by a division of the land amongst them, so as to take away the power of transferring it as a whole to the whites.

In the eighth month of this year, several members of the committee visited the Alleghany and Cattaraugus settlements, and spent several weeks there in attending to the various services of their appointment; the following extract from their report will show the state of Indian concerns at those places at this date, viz. :—

EXTRACT FROM INDIAN REPORT OF 1817.

“The settlements of the Indians at Cattaraugus are scattered, about ten miles in length, many of which we have visited; and from the observation we have been enabled to make, it appears that they are gradually progressing in agriculture. They have more grain growing this season than usual; they have fenced in many fields, and laid out their farms more detached from each other than formerly. It is supposed that they have

more than two hundred acres of corn growing, which generally looks well, besides an hundred acres under cultivation in spring wheat, oats, potatoes, and various other vegetables. Their stocks of cattle and horses are much increased, and divers of the Indians have enclosed lots of grass, on which they gather hay for winter.

"Many of their women have made considerable progress in spinning. The last year several of them joined in making about seventy yards of linen cloth, which was divided among them in proportion to the quantity of yarn that each had spun. Several pieces were also made by individuals, amounting to upwards of one hundred yards.

"The last winter, when the natives of this settlement were informed of the donation of provisions intended to be made to them by the committee, they agreed that Friends should defer the distribution until the time of putting in their spring crops; and, accordingly, kept their families in the woods hunting until about that time, when the provisions, provided by Friends for this purpose, were divided amongst them, which enabled them to remain at home for a month or six weeks, and to attend to the putting into the ground of their spring crops. The potatoes they received were generally planted. There were fifty-seven families of Senecas, and thirteen of Muncies, consisting of three hundred and ninety individuals, who partook of the donation; which, besides enabling them to increase their crops the present season, had otherwise a salutary effect.

"At the Tunesassah reservation there are seventy families, all except four of whom have horned cattle, amounting to upwards of four hundred head. They have more horses than are of advantage to them. Their corn, oats, and buck-wheat promise to afford them a plentiful supply the ensuing winter. Several of them have raised spring wheat, and some of them are preparing to sow winter grain this fall. But although there seemed to be a disposition of improvement prevalent in various respects, yet it was evident that their attention latterly being much drawn to the cutting and rafting of pine timber, it has retarded their progress in agriculture. Many of their women continue spinning, and the manufacturing of clothing.

"On visiting the school, taught by one of our Friends, it was found that eighteen lads attended, who generally had made satisfactory progress in learning. Several of them could read the English language. The cleanliness of their persons, the order observable in the school, and the attention they paid to their learning, afforded an encouraging prospect of the issue of the attempt making for their instruction.

"It appears that the number of natives at this place who partook of the provisions furnished by the committee in the time of the scarcity last winter, amounted to five hundred and twelve."

The important subject of a proper division of the land among the Indians of these reservations, under provisions to prevent its being alienated or leased to white people, obtained the close attention of the sub-committee during this visit; and with a view to promote this object, an arrangement was made to meet the chiefs of the Seneca nation in a general council to be held at Cattaraugus on the 23rd of the ninth month. The deliberation upon this subject occupied the attention of the council for several days, and it resulted in an agreement to try the plan on the Alleghany reservation, as many of the natives of that place had, for a considerable time, been desirous of holding their property more distinct from each other than at that time was the case. The report of the committee in 1819, in addition to the interesting information furnished respecting the schools then in operation, contains also some further particulars in reference to this subject: it is as follows, viz. :—

INDIAN REPORT OF 1819.

“The committee appointed for the gradual civilization and improvement of the Indian natives, report, they have continued their attention to this interesting concern during the past year; and as the natives at Cattaraugus had expressed a desire to have their children instructed in the English language, the committee encouraged a Friend who had offered his services as a teacher, to proceed thither soon after our last Yearly Meeting. In a late letter we are informed, ‘The school continues to be attended with pretty good satisfaction, and it is thought the Indians continue to progress in useful habits.’ At the Alleghany reservation the natives had agreed to occupy their land in severalty, and have it laid out in lots suitable for farms. A surveyor was engaged, who commenced the work last summer, but some difficulties presenting, a council was held, at which they requested him to proceed no further; and at the same time they directed a letter to the committee, requesting an application to the President of the United States for a letter signed by himself, and certified under the seal of the United States, (which seal they say they know,) signifying his approbation of the proposed division of their land. This was obtained in the first month last, on the application of four of the committee, who were then at the seat of government. The school at this settlement is continued, and

we hope good effects will result from it, being persuaded the best mode of instructing Indians is in their own nation.

"The present is an important period to the poor natives, and calls for the sympathy and encouragement of their friends."

4th Month, 1819.

The substantial benefit which these poor Indians had derived, through the exertions of Friends for their improvement, is strikingly set forth in an account furnished by one of the Friends who resided at Tunesassah. This account does not include a notice of more than about one half of the number of Indians on the Alleghany settlement, and the number and kind of their buildings, which were "considerable, and generally commodious," are almost entirely omitted. The statement is as follows, viz.:—

"AN ACCOUNT OF SOME IMPROVEMENTS MADE BY A PART OF THE INDIANS ON THE ALLEGHANY RESERVATION, SUPPOSED TO BE LESS THAN ONE HALF OF THE NUMBER THAT HAVE MADE A PROGRESS IN HUSBANDRY. THE ACCOUNT WAS TAKEN AT DIFFERENT TIMES, AS IS SHOWN BY THE DATES.

"1820. 10th mo. 23rd. Big John, (alias Goliath) an Onondago, has about twenty acres of cleared land ; raised the present season, eight acres of corn, two and a half, or three acres of oats, and one of potatoes ; has about forty apple-trees planted, several of which are bearing ; has three cows, four calves, one steer, one yoke of oxen, four horses, and eighteen hogs and pigs. Has a wife, with whom he has lived orderly, and four children now living. States that he is anxious to go on with improvements in agriculture, and encourages the school ; he has also a plough and waggon, and does considerable work.

"William Platt, a young man, perhaps thirty years of age ; has a wife, with whom he has lived orderly, but no children, fifteen acres of land, one yoke of oxen, and twenty pigs ; raised a considerable quantity of corn ; has three acres of oats, and four of potatoes ; has no grass-land, but has preserved his corn-fodder.

"Levi Halftown, (blacksmith,) nine and a half acres of cleared land, one yoke of steers, two cows, one calf, two horses, one plough and ox-chains, seven hogs, and eight pigs.

"10th mo. 25th. Long John, forty-eight or fifty years of age : has

twelve children by one wife, and still lives with her; twenty acres of cleared land; had, the present season, seven acres of corn, four acres of oats; the quantity of potatoes, beans, &c., not accurately ascertained; no grass-land; has two yoke of oxen, three cows, one heifer, three calves eleven or twelve hogs, and a number of pigs; one waggon and a plough, or ploughs; is fattening three hogs for winter.

"Stephen, (blacksmith,) has six acres of corn, four of oats, one of potatoes, and four of hay; has one yoke of oxen, five cows, six calves, fifteen hogs and pigs, and one plough; is fattening two or three hogs for pork.

"John Jamison, a young man about twenty-four years of age, has fifteen acres of cleared land; had, the last season, four acres of oats, one of buck-wheat, and four of corn, potatoes, beans, &c.; sixteen hogs, and several pigs; two horses, two cows, one heifer, one calf, one plough, one yoke of steers two years old, and one younger. Ploughed last spring about thirty acres of land, twenty-one of which were hired by other Indians at two dollars per acre; has put up a log barn fifty feet long, and sixteen wide; is fattening four hogs, and has made new fence to six acres of land the present season.

"Big Jacob, fifty years old; has eight or ten acres of cleared land, five acres of corn, four of oats, and one of potatoes; no grass-land; has one yoke of oxen, three yoke of steers, four cows, one calf, five hogs, and perhaps twenty pigs; has sown one bushel of wheat this fall.

"Moses Peirce, aged thirty-two; has twenty and a half acres of land, one yoke of oxen, two cows, three young steers, and one calf; has five hogs now fattening, and seven pigs raised the present year; two and a half acres of corn, three and a half of oats, one and a half of hay, and a quarter of an acre of potatoes; makes ploughs and sleighs, and is pretty ready at common carpenter's work.

"11th mo. 3rd. John Peirce, aged fifty-six; has twenty acres of cleared land, eight head of cattle, fifteen hogs and pigs, five of which are fattening; raised five acres of corn, one and a half of potatoes, four of oats; has three and a half, or four acres of grass-land.

"Eli Jimerson, twenty-seven years of age; has begun a new improvement in the woods; has cleared about three acres; parted with his old fields, which contained six acres; has raised in the present season three acres of corn, half an acre of potatoes, and one of turnips; has five hogs, one yoke of steers, one cow, one heifer, a plough, and waggon.

"Simeon Peirce, twenty-six years of age; has fourteen acres of land; has also cleared about one acre more, and sowed it with wheat; raised five acres of corn, three of oats, two of wheat, half an acre of potatoes, three and a half acres of meadow; has two cows, two heifers, two steers, one ox, four hogs, and ten pigs, and is fattening four hogs.

"Billy, fifty years of age; has three pigs, one cow, and a calf; raised fifty bushels of corn, and a quarter of an acre of potatoes.

"12th mo. 2nd. William Johnson, a Tuscarora, about fifty years old; has eleven acres of land, one yoke of oxen, two cows, two heifers, twelve hogs and pigs; raised six acres of corn, half an acre of potatoes, and a quantity of beans, but has no grass-land.

"1821. 1st mo. 31st. Morris Halftown, twenty-six years old; raised last year three acres of corn, one and a half of potatoes, six of oats, two and a half of hay; has eighteen acres of land, one yoke of oxen, two cows, three steers, one calf, one horse, four pigs, and one hog, and has killed two hogs for pork.

"2nd mo. 10th. Israel Jimerson, thirty years of age; has fourteen acres of land, and four more chopped, but not cleared; raised three acres of oats, three and a half of corn, two of buck-wheat, one of potatoes, one of wheat, and half an acre of pease; has two and a half acres of meadow, two yoke of oxen, one yoke of steers, one heifer, six hogs, fourteen pigs, one plough, a small cart and log-chains, and killed, last fall, five hogs.

"3rd mo. 29th. John Dicken, about sixty-five, or seventy years old; had last year two acres of spring wheat, and four acres of oats; has three horses, and one hog.

"Jimerson, the blacksmith, fifty-four years old: has ten and a half acres of land, three horses, two cows, three calves, three hogs, four pigs, a plough, and harness for horses; raised five acres of corn, one of potatoes, three of oats, half an acre of pease, and has killed three hogs for pork.

"5th mo. 10th. Jacob Taylor, forty years of age; has five and a half acres of land, one yoke of steers, one heifer, four hogs, and killed some pork last fall; sowed one acre of oats; has some corn and potatoes, but the quantity not known.

"7th mo. James Robinson, forty-eight years of age; has thirteen acres of land; planted five acres of corn, and half an acre of potatoes; sowed two acres of spring wheat, three and a half acres of oats, and has two and a half acres of meadow, nine head of cattle, seven hogs, one plough, a harrow, chains, and sled.

"Blue Eyes; has about twelve acres of land; sowed in the present year half a bushel of flax-seed, one acre of wheat, three and a half of oats, three of corn, one acre of pease, one of potatoes; has two and a half acres of meadow, one yoke of oxen, five cows, three calves, four hogs, twenty-two pigs, five horses, a plough, chains, &c.

"John Watt, thirty-five years of age; planted three acres of corn, and half an acre of potatoes; has four hogs and twenty-six pigs.

"Jonathan Titus, about fifty-five years old; has three acres of land, one cow, one yearling, and three pigs.

" Jack Snow, fifty years of age ; five acres of land : planted three acres of corn, one and a half of potatoes, and half an acre of beans, and has four hogs.

" Jacob Thomas, twenty-eight, or thirty years old ; eight acres of land ; planted three acres of corn, two acres of oats, an acre of pease, and one hundred hills of potatoes : has one ox, two cows, four heifers, nine hogs, and seven pigs.

" Big John, fifty-three years of age ; fourteen acres of land ; has sixteen head of cattle, four horses, thirteen hogs, five acres of corn, one of potatoes, five of oats, and two or three of meadow.

" William Halftown, twenty-six years old ; fourteen and a half acres of land, ten of which he lately got cleared, for which clearing he paid fourteen dollars per acre ; has one acre of corn, one or two of oats, two and a half of meadow, one yoke of oxen, one cow, one horse, a plough and sled, and some bearing apple-trees.

" John Bone, thirty-three years of age ; planted three acres of corn, has two of oats, about two acres of meadow, one ox, one cow, one heifer, one calf, and a plough.

" George Silverheels, forty-three years of age ; ten and a half acres of land ; has three cows, one bull, one yoke of steers, one heifer, two calves, eleven hogs ; planted five acres of corn and one of potatoes, has one acre of oats, and one and a half of meadow, and has lately begun to clear for a farm at some distance from the village.

" 8th mo. John Lewis, twenty-six years of age ; has a wife and two children, four or five acres of land, pretty much in corn, one yoke of steers, one heifer, and eight hogs.

" Buck Tooth, fifty-five years old ; about eleven acres of land enclosed ; planted six acres of corn, which is the principal crop, except some vines, &c. ; has three horses, one heifer, eleven hogs, and harness for one horse.

" Jacob Shongo, aged thirty-two years ; eleven acres of land ; planted three acres of corn, and one and a half of potatoes ; has one and a half acre of oats, one and a half of meadow, one cow, two heifers, one calf, ten hogs, and one plough : has put up a good log-house, with stone chimney and a fire-place, both up and down stairs.

" 9th mo. Jacob Jimerson, about thirty years old ; planted four acres of corn, and one of potatoes ; has one and a half acre of oats, three and a half of meadow, one yoke of oxen, one cow, five large hogs, ten or fifteen smaller ones, one plough and chains.

" David Helftown ; planted five acres of corn, one of potatoes, one of beans, and one of garden vegetables ; has one acre of buck-wheat, two acres of oats, one yoke of oxen, and one of steers, two cows, five hogs, and many domestic fowls ; also one plough and chains.

"Fight Thompson, about thirty-four years of age; has a wife and three children; has three acres of corn, half an acre of potatoes, a patch of turnips, pumpkins, &c.; has about six acres of land under fence, one yoke of oxen, one calf, five hogs, and one plough.

"10th mo. William Patterson, twenty-five years of age; planted four acres of corn; has about two acres of oats, a small piece of grass, two cows, also nine hogs, which he is fattening.

"The ages of some of these Indians are conjectural, but from circumstances it is believed they are nearly correct. There are about forty families more in the settlement, of whom an account is yet to be taken, and among these some of the greatest improvements are obvious."

By the epistolary correspondence of Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings with our own in 1821, we are informed that the school at Tunesassah was still in operation, under the care and tuition of a Friend, and that it was regularly attended by from twenty to twenty-six boys, who came mostly from a distance of several miles, and about eighteen of whom frequently remained with their teacher through the night, in order that they might have more time to devote to their school learning, which they seemed desirous of obtaining, and in which they were encouraged by many of the older Indians, who appeared to be sensible of the great advantage which would result to them by it. In the absence of any further notice of the school established at the Cataraugus settlement in 1818, we conclude that circumstances must have interfered to cause its cessation.

The epistle from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1823 to our own, respecting the state of the Indians, informs us that a continued improvement was manifest among them, not only in agricultural advancement, but also in their deportment. The school at Tunesassah was attended by about twenty pupils, who were taught by a Friend in a house erected for that purpose. In learning they made satisfactory progress, and their general behaviour in school was orderly. A workshop for instructing the Indian youth in the use of tools, was also erected near the school-house, which afforded a prospect of being useful.

In 1826, the following information of the Indian labours of Friends of this Yearly Meeting, was furnished by their Meeting for Sufferings to our own, viz. :—

EXTRACT FROM AN EPISTLE FROM PHILADELPHIA MEETING FOR
SUFFERINGS, 9th MONTH, 1826.

“The committee of our Yearly Meeting, who have under care the civilization and improvement of the Indian natives, have been much exercised in endeavouring to promote among them a just estimate of their real welfare, and the necessity of using such means as would not only contribute to their present comfortable accommodation, but in great measure secure to their posterity a permanent enjoyment of the products of the soil; and prepare the way for their becoming in time so incorporated with the government, as to be invested with the several immunities and privileges of citizenship. A school has lately been established at Tunesassah for the instruction of the young females in literature, knitting, spinning, and other branches of domestic economy, which affords an encouraging prospect of success. The school for boys has been regularly attended, and a satisfactory demeanour apparent: between school-hours they are employed on the farm or in the workshop; and the evidence which is thus exhibited of their application to business, gives reason to hope that it may have a beneficial influence on their future steps in life. The average number of both sexes who usually attend the school is about twenty-five. The agricultural engagements of the natives on the Alleghany reservation appear to be slowly and gradually advancing: there are eighty families, composed of four hundred and thirty-nine individuals, who are pursuing this mode of acquiring a livelihood, and possess four hundred and seventy-nine head of cattle, fifty-eight horses, three hundred and fifty hogs, six hundred and ninety-nine acres of improved land, in which seventy acres of meadow are included. Two hundred and thirty-nine acres were planted last season (1825) with corn, forty-two with potatoes, thirty-eight with wheat, and one hundred and sixteen with oats, besides buckwheat and various kinds of vegetables.

“Notwithstanding the pleasing aspect which is thus presented, and the evident presages of hope that these acquirements may incline in our minds, it is considerably alloyed with serious apprehensions that these greatly injured inhabitants of the wilderness, the original proprietors of the land on which we live, will ere long be dispossessed even of that remnant which has been assigned to them, and which they were once made to believe should for ever continue in their occupancy and peaceful fruition.”

The fear expressed in the foregoing extract, that these

poor natives would be deprived even of the small section of land which they occupied, appears, to a certain extent, to have been realized. Alluring temptations to great pecuniary emolument and other flattering statements which were made to them, tended to loosen their attachment to their native soil, and they were, in the end, prevailed upon to part with several thousand acres of valuable territory, by which unhappy divisions were created in their councils.

For several years succeeding this period, Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting were much engaged in advocating the rights of other nations of the aboriginal inhabitants of the United States, against the unprincipled attempts which were made for obtaining their land, secured to them by treaties, which in the estimation of the Christian, at least, ought to have been solemnly binding.

The case of the Cherokees in Georgia, in particular, occupied the close attention of the Yearly Meeting in 1830. These Indians possessed a rich and salubrious territory in that state, within the limits of which valuable gold mines were reputed to exist. They were far advanced in civilization and the knowledge of Christianity. One of them had reduced the native language to writing, and had established a printing-press, at which a native newspaper was regularly printed. Notwithstanding all this, the Georgians, coveting their possessions, insisted upon their removal. The Yearly Meeting was introduced into much sympathy with this deeply injured nation, and presented a memorial to Congress upon the subject. But the oppressor was permitted to triumph; the love of gain prevailed over the claims of justice and humanity, and these poor people were banished by an unrighteous mandate to a distant wilderness in the west.

By the succeeding extract we may see that step by step those Indians under the care of Friends appeared to be steadily advancing to that state to which William Penn longed they should be brought, viz., "to the love of civil society and the Christian religion."

EXTRACT FROM AN EPISTLE FROM PHILADELPHIA MEETING FOR
SUFFERINGS, 3rd MONTH, 1835.

“ Those remnants of the Seneca nation of Indians which are located in the western part of the state of New York, about three hundred miles from this city, and to whom the committee of our Yearly Meeting have extended much care for their civilization and comfortable subsistence, still continue on the remaining part of their reservations, which have not yet been sold to the state ; a few families of the Buffalo tribe, not under care of Friends, and most of the Oneidas, a nation which the Yearly Meeting of New York had taken under its charge, have been prevailed upon to go and settle about Green Bay, in the North Western Territory, on the west side of Lake Michigan, computed at nine hundred miles distant from our settlement at Tunesassah, and about one hundred and fifty miles south of Lake Superior. It is evident that the labour and expense which Friends have bestowed upon this people have had a very beneficial effect ; they used to live in villages of wigwams, which are a kind of hovel or hut, made of poles and covered with bark ; but of latter years, through the instruction received from the Friends who have resided among them, they have attained to such a knowledge of agriculture, and some of the most simple mechanic arts, that they have, at a considerable distance from each other, convenient frame or hewn log-houses, with stone or brick chimnies, shingled roofs, and several rooms ceiled. Many good and capacious barns are also erected, and their farms present a pleasant aspect, with hogs, cows, many yoke of oxen, and some sheep. Their women used to go into the woods, cut the firewood for their families, and carry it home on their backs : but latterly the men perform a great part of this labour, and the women are left more free to attend upon their peculiar domestic affairs, as spinning, sewing, &c. What little land they cultivated to procure a scanty subsistence was by the hoe ; but now the plough, having superseded that, they raise not only a plentiful supply of the necessities of life, but, in several instances, such a surplus as to sell to those in their neighbourhoods ; and instead of a continual diminution of their numbers, there is now a very considerable increase. There are two neat frame-buildings upon the reservation used as places of worship on First-days, in which two of the natives officiate as teachers ; on other days these houses are occupied for schools, taught by their own people, who have been educated for the purpose, which, being conducted to satisfaction, an increasing desire is manifest among them to have their children brought up in the knowledge of letters, and some seem interested in becoming acquainted with the Holy Scriptures. Their marriages have recently been accomplished in public and in an orderly manner, and this covenant considered more serious and binding than formerly. During a visit paid to the settlement last autumn

by a deputation of Friends, a progressive improvement was evident in many respects, and much gratitude appeared for the continued concern and care of Friends for their welfare."

Although the foregoing statement conveys much to animate Friends in this labour of love, there were, nevertheless, circumstances which occasionally arose to cause more or less of discouragement. One of these was a division of sentiment among the Indians respecting the final abandonment of their ancient customs and mode of living; for notwithstanding the comforts which a more civilized life produced to them, there were several who still pleaded for a return to their former barbarous and wandering habits of life. This, for a time, caused much unsettlement among them, during which they desired that the school under the care of Friends might be discontinued, which accordingly took place. The advantages of school-learning for their children had, however, become so manifest to a large number of the Indians, that although Friends had withdrawn from them, schools, as we may see by the preceding extract, were kept up by themselves.

This desire of returning to uncivilized habits began, however, soon to wear away, and in 1835 the Indians "were unanimous in their desire to have their children instructed by Friends." In the tenth month of this year two members of the committee were appointed to visit the Alleghany settlement, to see what progress the natives were making, and particularly with a view to encourage them in their endeavours to promote among themselves the instruction of their children. In this visit the Friends observed, "that the conduct of some of the younger natives was very satisfactory; a number of them being industriously employed in farming and clearing the land. Their dress was similar to that of the working men among white people, and a considerable number are partially acquainted with the English language. The Indians who resided on the Alleghany, derived their

principal support from the cultivation of the extensive low lands which lie along the river, and compose the greater part of the arable land included in their reservation, which extends for about forty-two miles in length and one in breadth.

At the time of the arrival of the two Friends, these lands were in many places covered with crops of corn, buck wheat, oats, potatoes, &c., nearly ready for gathering, but before this was accomplished, a flood, greater than had been known there for thirty-two years before, carried off most of their crops, and obliged them to leave their houses and seek an asylum on higher ground. This unexpected event almost entirely deprived the Indians of the means of support, and there was reason to apprehend, that unless assistance was speedily rendered, many of them, and a great part of their cattle, must suffer and perish from want. It was therefore concluded, on the return of these two Friends, that two of the committee should immediately proceed to Tunesassah to alleviate this distress by the distribution of food, for which purpose one thousand three hundred dollars were entrusted to them, the whole of which was expended for their relief, besides two hundred dollars more for seed, exclusive of travelling expenses.

In order to ascertain in what manner this sum might be best applied to relieve the distressed, the two Friends visited nearly all the Indian families on the Alleghany, inquired their number, what losses they had sustained, what stock they possessed, and what means remained for their support. From this examination, it appeared that there were three hundred and thirty-seven adults, and three hundred and thirty-five children, including a few residing on Corn Planter's land in Pennsylvania, a few miles south of the New York boundary-line. The visit to the Indian families of this reservation, presented an opportunity of conveying advice and instruction to them, and it was believed to be an occasion which tended to "more fully confirm in their minds the favourable

opinions they entertained of real Christianity," and to cherish the desire, as they expressed it, of attending "to the directions of the Son of the Great Spirit, who came to the earth."

In 1837, in consequence of a failure of the crops at the Alleghany reservation, the committee directed the expenditure of six hundred dollars for the purchase of corn and potatoes for the relief of such of the natives as had no other means of support. Notwithstanding the help thus afforded, their progress in agricultural improvement received a considerable check, "many of them," say the Friends at Tunesassah, in their communication of the eighth month of this year, "having sold their oxen and horses to procure bread." In the same letter they also stated, that they "had frequent opportunities with them on religious subjects to good satisfaction," and that they stood open to hear them on those subjects, and "feelingly" approved of what was offered. At this time two schools were kept up under the management of the Indians themselves, one having from twenty-five to thirty children, the other from ten to sixteen; in the latter, it is said, "the scholars made considerable progress in learning; two studied arithmetic, four were learning to write, and six read in the Testament."

It was about this time that those unprincipled attempts, so reproachful to the name of Christianity, began to be made, in order to prevail upon the Indians in this part of the Union to abandon their valuable reservations in exchange for lands west of the Mississippi. The following communication received from three of the chiefs at Alleghany in the ninth month, 1837, will exhibit some of the means which were made use of to effect this, viz.:—

"Brothers, the Quakers of Philadelphia, we, the chiefs of the Alleghany reservation, believe you to be our best friends, and want you to know how much trouble we have about our land. Schermerhorn came to Buffalo not long since, and left money with our agent to hire Indians to sign

their names in favour of selling their lands. The agent sent out runners to the several reservations in the state for that purpose, and procured sixty signers. Samuel Gordon came to Alleghany and offered Blacksnake one thousand dollars for his name, which he refused, as he preferred keeping the land for his children. There are but two chiefs and two others on the Alleghany in favour of selling. Our agent also selected nine chiefs to be sent as delegates to the west, to see the land where they intend the Indians to move to, which made us very uneasy; and we met together in council at Cold Spring, and got a petition drawn and signed by ninety-two Indians in favour of keeping our land, to send to Washington; and the Indians on the other reservations are doing the same. Our agent is holding back our annuity until the chiefs return from the west, which will be nearly three months hence.

“We are determined not to sell our land, but to stay on it. We have good crops of corn and potatoes growing, and hope we will be strengthened to go forward and improve. We would be glad to have an answer, and know your opinion on the subject of selling our land.”

Before attempting to give any advice upon a matter of so much importance, the committee, who were fully aware of the strong desire which some of the whites had to possess themselves of the land in question, were fearful that the strenuous efforts for this purpose might ultimately be successful, and thought it most advisable to pay a visit to the natives, in order to make themselves more acquainted with the case. Accordingly, in the eleventh month, 1837, two of its members arrived at Tunesassah for that purpose. As might be expected, they found the natives in a very unsettled state, in consequence of the attempts which were made to prevail on their chiefs, by the offer of bribes, to agree to the sale of the land. “The fact of bribes being offered for this purpose,” say the committee, “was confirmed from several quarters.” All the Indians with whom

these Friends conversed, stated their anxiety to remain where they were, "several of them showing by tears, as well as words, the keenness of their sensibility to the dangers and sufferings that awaited them in case they should be deprived of their present possessions." At a council held a few days after the arrival of the Friends, it was agreed respecting the delegation who had gone west to inspect lands there, offered in lieu of their present reserves, not to pay any attention to the report they might make, as they were not sent by the nation; and also "that they would not sell the land, but would adhere to their old treaty, by virtue of which they were to retain their present possessions, and remain at peace with the people of the United States, as long as the sun rose and the waters flowed."

The conclusion thus come to had scarcely taken place, before an agent from the President came to make further offers to them on behalf of the Government, on condition of their removing to the west. After deliberating on these proposals, the chiefs agreed to reject them, and thereupon sent an address to the President, setting forth their reasons for so doing, which was signed by seventy chiefs. In this address they say, "We have been born and educated on this land; we have grown up together [with the whites] in brotherly love; we have acquired knowledge of the arts of civilization and of agriculture in a great measure from them. We have now many amongst us who have built large barns, and have good waggons and other useful implements of agriculture; we have also built school and council-houses, and convenient churches; we have several saw-mills and a grain-mill amongst us. Our people have already made rapid advances, and are still progressing in wealth and industry; the moral condition of our people has been visibly improving beyond our expectation for the last forty years. True, we have also immoral and unprincipled men amongst us, but this is common with all nations; there is, therefore, no sufficient reason for the whole nation to be removed on their account."

The sub-committee, in closing their report of this visit, thus express themselves in reference to this painful subject, viz. :—

“ From what we have seen and heard during this visit, we are decidedly of the sentiment, that the preservation of these people from total extinction depends on their retaining possession of the land they now have. The offers which are said to be made to them in the west, however flattering in appearance, present to our minds a very dreary prospect. They are probably less fitted for removal to the wilds of the west than they were when Friends commenced their labours amongst them. They have acquired too many of the wants, and too few of the habits of civilized life to be removed, without the most disastrous consequences, to an uncultivated wilderness. It appears to us that our duty is a plain one ; that we ought to exercise such influence as we possess to induce them to hold fast their present possessions ; to improve themselves and their land as rapidly as possible, and to become, not only a civilized, but a Christian community. If they should be induced to accede to the flattering offers which are so industriously presented to their view, a few more fleeting years will probably join their name and memory with those which are no longer known, except on the historian’s page.”

Although the Indians on the reservations in question had repeatedly and very decidedly expressed themselves against an exchange of their lands for others on the western frontier, yet in the early part of 1838, another commissioner, vested with powers to negotiate a treaty with them, came amongst them for that purpose, and through the artifices and bribery of some interested persons, a treaty was obtained under circumstances that afforded strong reasons for suspecting its integrity. Far the larger number of chiefs remonstrated against this treaty, but the commissioner persisted in calling it a valid contract.

Soon after this transaction the Indians, having great con-

fidence in the integrity of Friends, addressed the committee on Indian affairs, setting forth in detail the circumstances of the case, and entreating Friends to intercede on their behalf with the Government against such an unjust measure. "Brothers," say these poor people to Friends in their trouble, "our hearts are pained, therefore we remember you, and aim to let you know our distress. Our necessities induce us to ask assistance of our friends."

The committee being satisfied that this pretended treaty had been extorted from the majority of those who had signed it by fraudulent means, and that by far the larger portion of this people were averse, upon any terms, to the disposal of their lands, were induced to address a remonstrance to the President and Congress respecting it; and also appointed four of their number to proceed to Washington, in company with a deputation from the Indians, with a view of rendering them assistance in stating their case to the Government. In the prosecution of their labours, the Friends had several interviews with the President, Secretary of War, and other members of the Government, to whom they communicated information of the manner in which this treaty had been obtained, and declared their sense of the injustice of the measure, and the evil effects which must inevitably result to the Indians if carried into execution.

The Senate in its deliberations on this treaty made many changes, and indeed so remodelled it, as virtually to annul many of its provisions. Several new articles were also introduced, and in this altered form it was to be again submitted to the Indians for their approval, which took place in the eighth month, 1838.

In this second attempt to get a treaty with the Indians, it was agreed that they should not be seen in general council as heretofore, but each tribe and band separately: this new course there is no doubt was taken with a view to its easier accomplishment. And by these and other unrighteous means, similar to those used on the former occasion, a document,

signed by some of the Indians, was procured, and called a duly ratified treaty. The President being made acquainted with the particulars of this case, pronounced the treaty, on the opening of the following session of Congress, to be an illegal contract, inasmuch as it had not received the assent of the Seneca nation in the manner directed by former resolutions of the Senate. After a long discussion, however, that body, acting, it is clear, under an influence adverse to the just claims of these poor, apparently proscribed natives, decided by the casting vote of its presiding member, that it was a valid contract, and recommended its various provisions to be carried into execution.

The effect of this decision of the Senate increased the alarm and heightened the distress of the Indians; but nevertheless they still clung to the hope that they should be able to ward off the calamity which threatened them, either through the more favourable disposition of the new administration and Senate of 1840, or by an appeal to the supreme court of the United States. In their communications to the committee at various times, they thus speak in reference to their injuries, viz.:—

“ Brothers, we continue to feel relative to the treaty as we have ever felt. We cannot regard it as an act of our nation, or hold it to be binding on us. We still consider that in justice the land is at this time as much our own as ever it was. We have done nothing to forfeit our right to it; and have come to a conclusion to remain upon it as long as we can enjoy it in peace. We trust in the Great Spirit: to Him we submit our cause.

“ Brothers, we are in trouble; we have been told that the President has ratified a treaty by which these lands are sold from our possession. We look to you, and solicit your advice and your sympathy, under the accumulating difficulties that now surround us. We feel more than ever our need of the help of the Great and Good Spirit to guide us aright.

“ Brothers, we want the President of the United States to

know that we are for peace, that we only ask the possession of our just rights. We have kept in good faith all our agreements with the Government. In our innocence of any violation, we ask its protection; in our weakness we look to it for justice and mercy. We desire to live upon our lands in peace and harmony. We love Tonawanda. It is the residue left us of the land of our forefathers. We have no wish to leave it. Here are our cultivated fields, our houses, our wives and children, and our firesides—and here we wish to lay our bones in peace.”

In the early part of 1841 two members of the committee visited Washington, and had interviews with several members of Congress upon the subject, and succeeded in obtaining an assurance from some members of the Government, that the treaty and the circumstances attending its procurement should be closely investigated, and just and humane measures pursued in relation to it. These assurances, in connexion with the fact that the instrument as amended by the Senate had not received the assent of two-thirds of the senators present, which the laws of their constitution require to authorize its ratification, but had only passed by the casting vote of the Vice-president, and also that no appropriation had been made by the House of Representatives for carrying it into effect, gave Friends a hope that its ultimate execution would yet be averted. This, however, we regret to say, has not been realized. In 1842 the land-speculators, who had taken such unrighteous modes of endeavouring to enrich themselves at the expense of the weak and defenceless, seeing, as we suppose, that the probabilities were that the exertions of Friends would be instrumental in setting aside the pretended treaty of 1838, agreed to compromise the matter by proposing a supplementary treaty, by which two out of the four valuable reservations of this people should be ceded. The following extract from the last Indian report of the Philadelphia committee, in addition to some details relating to this circumstance, also contains some interesting

particulars of the exertions of Friends of that Yearly Meeting for the good of this section of our fellow-men.

EXTRACT FROM INDIAN REPORT OF 1843.

“It is a subject of deep regret that the measures above detailed have been so far completed, as to preclude all prospect of advantage from any interference on our part. The valuable reservations at Buffalo and Tonawanda must now be alienated from their rightful owners, and the Indians residing upon them removed to new locations. It has recently been stated by the natives, that a part of those on the Buffalo reservation are likely to emigrate west of the Mississippi, and others are expected to remove to the Alleghany reservation. Those on the Tonawanda lands, it is said, design going to Canada.

“During the past year our friend Robert Scotton has continued at Tunesassah, endeavouring to promote the welfare and improvement of the natives; and it is satisfactory to learn through him, that they have used very considerable efforts to promote temperate habits among themselves, and to prevent the use of spirituous liquors as a drink; and that a number who, a few years ago, were common drunkards, have become sober men. A school, taught by a native, has been kept open a considerable part of the year at Cold Spring, and attended generally by about seventeen children, who appear to be making a reasonable progress in their learning. A school, taught by a female, has been for some time kept at Old Town, and one taught by a native, near Jimmeson Town, both under the care of the missionaries. We have had frequent occasion to regret the disadvantages which the Indians sustained, by permitting the whites to settle on their land. This has been encouraged or connived at by the natives, in the hope of obtaining a profit from the lands without having to labour for it. At a council held at Cold Spring in the 6th month last, the chiefs signed a notice to all the white people residing on their reservation, to remove before the 1st of the ensuing 11th month; with information, that in case of neglect or refusal, application would be made to the Secretary of War to enforce the law in the case. In the 9th month, the Indian agent visited the settlement by order of the Secretary of War, to procure the removal of the white inhabitants; and in consequence of these measures, many of them accordingly left the Indian lands, and the sheriff of the county had orders to remove the rest. Since then we are informed that those people have all left, except such as have saw-mills. In the autumn of last year, the bottom lands on the Alleghany river, which comprise the chief part of what the Indians there cultivate, were again overflowed, and a large portion of their provisions, both for themselves and their stock, was either swept

away or otherwise destroyed. The winter proved an unusually long and hard one, and the supplies of provender in that section of the country were generally small. Many of the Indian families were either totally destitute of food, or possessed of very inadequate supplies, and the Friend residing at Tunesassah was authorized to inspect and relieve their wants. He accordingly purchased and distributed among them 1260 bushels of potatoes, 647 bushels of oats, and 600 bushels of corn; and there is reason to believe that these timely supplies were in some instances the means of preserving both them and their cattle from perishing by want. Since then, he has been further directed to procure and hand to them such supplies of grain and potatoes as may be necessary to enable them to put in their usual spring crops. The aid thus furnished to these poor destitute people was received with evident marks of gratitude, and their feelings are in part expressed in a letter to the committee, dated 'April 3rd, 1843,' written by an Indian, and signed by nine of the chiefs, from which the following is extracted:—

“ ‘To the Friends, Quakers of Philadelphia,

“ ‘Our brother, Robert Scotton, is now about to return home, and we have great cause to be in gratitude, and thankful to you, whom the Great Spirit has used as his instruments to relieve the needy, that they may become as a people in the community. It is now rising forty years since your benevolence has been extended over us, endeavouring every opportunity to assist us, as well as showing us the way to be happy in this life and in that to come.’ After speaking of some other matters, they add—‘ And likewise, as you have authorized him (Robert Scotton) to provide sustenance this winter for the poor Indians living upon this reservation, it is very much the state of our minds to be very thankful both on the part of him (R. S.) and you, by whom he was sent; and above all, we offer our gratitude to God for his mercies, and the kindness we have received from the hands of you, his people.’

“ The uncertain tenure by which these people hold their lands, and the persevering efforts which have been made to remove them west of the Mississippi, have for several years operated very unfavourably upon them, and greatly discouraged the improvement of their property. The arrangement recently made, though far from securing their just rights, may perhaps permit them to remain undisturbed for a few years; and we apprehend this opportunity ought to be embraced, for renewed efforts to promote their improvement and further acquaintance with the arts and habits of civilized life. If they could be brought to practise more regular and persevering industry, to adopt improved modes of agriculture, to erect more comfortable buildings for themselves and cattle, than many of them now have, and to

introduce more cleanliness and comfort into their habitations, we might reasonably hope that their attachment to home, and the fear of the privations incident to a new and wilderness location, would secure them against future solicitations to part with their remaining pittance of land. They have strong claims upon our sympathy and commiseration, as an injured and oppressed people, struggling against a powerful opposition; and we trust that the minds of Friends will continue to be tenderly interested on their behalf."

PART III.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LABOURS OF FRIENDS OF NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING, ON BEHALF OF THE INDIANS, FROM 1795 TO 1843.

Although, from local circumstances, the Yearly Meeting of New York has not had the opportunity which some of the Yearly Meetings in America have had, in extending among the Indian tribes the benefits of Christian instruction and civilization, yet it will be seen, by the following pages, that they have been engaged in this good work, although on a more limited scale.

For many years prior to the period now under review, Friends in this part of the Union had, it appears, laboured in this interesting engagement, but we regret that our information respecting those earlier exertions in it is so very scanty. It is evident, however, that considerable pains were taken to imbue the minds of this interesting class of their fellow-beings with a sense of the value of the Christian religion, and that these exertions promoted true piety, and, in some instances, led to a full reception of Christianity. The following lines, written in much Christian feeling and simplicity, by some Indian women of the Stockbridge tribe to some Friends in New York, may be adduced in illustration.

“A LETTER FROM SOME INDIAN WOMEN, WHERE FRIENDS HAVE ENDEAVOURED TO IMPROVE THEIR DISPOSITIONS TOWARDS CHRISTIANITY.

“To Hannah Eddy, Martha Titus, Elizabeth Seaman, and our other sisters of the people called Quakers, of the State of New York, and elsewhere.

“DEAR SISTERS,

“We take this opportunity to inform you, we have been

very happy to see our worthy friends, Thomas Eddy, Thomas Titus, and Gideon Seaman, who have given us good counsel, which do much good on our minds. We thankfully accept of their good words, for we believe they are children of light, and the words they spoke from love.

“Sisters,—We also inform you, that we and a number of our sisters of this nation, have this several years past been endeavouring to follow the good path, which leads to everlasting happiness, and that we experience, in degree, the love of Jesus Christ, who died for such sinners as we are.

“Sisters,—We find that these Friends, who gave us many good counsels, are true men; so we believe that you are also our true sisters in the Lord. Therefore we think you would be willing to hear from us, who, though we are poor people, (commonly called by many white people squaws,) we are rejoiced to find that the Friends have such love which makes no distinction.

“Sisters,—We have religious meetings twice in every week, to seek after the ways of the Good Spirit, and have, at times, been comforted by Him who searcheth all the hearts.”

“Although we never have seen any of you, yet let us join hand in hand to serve the Lord Almighty, who is able to put such weapons in our hands, and in our minds, to withstand all the temptations of the evil one, and that we may be able to hold out to the end, when we shall join to praise our Saviour to all eternity. Farewell.”

“New Stockbridge,
6th mo. 24th, 1797.”

Signed by

“ELIZABETH JOSY.	CATHERINE QUAQUACHMUT.
LYDIA HENDRICK.	ESTHER LITTLEMAN.
CATHERINE NAUKOWISQUOK.	MARY TAU KONNOMEEN.
CATHERINE QUINNEY.	MARY HOLMES.
CATHERINE KAWHAWISQUOK.	MARGARET QUINNEY.
JENNY ANDREW.	HANNAH SEEPNOMMOW”.

“Directed to Hannah Eddy.”

It was not until the year 1795 that the subject of promoting the religious welfare and civilization of the aborigines within the borders of New York Yearly Meeting, was taken up by the meeting at large. In this year a committee was appointed to unite with the Meeting for Sufferings in the further consideration of the matter; and a few Friends were appointed to visit the Indians, in order to obtain such a knowledge of their situation and circumstances, as to enable Friends to take the necessary steps for carrying out the concern of the Yearly Meeting.

From the report made to the Meeting for Sufferings, and afterwards presented to the Yearly Meeting, it appears that the committee visited most of the Indian settlements in the State of New York.

The Indians settled at Brothertown, about one hundred miles north-west of Albany, are described as consisting of about thirty-five families, made up from several tribes originally settled at New London, Narraganset, and Long Island. They were professors of Christianity; and, besides having some knowledge of the English language, several of them could read and write. They were possessed of about ten thousand acres of "very fine land," and were in receipt of an annuity from the American Government. Their land was laid out in farms, from fifty to one hundred and fifty acres being allotted to each family, and they appear, altogether, to have made considerable advances in civilization. "We found many of them," says the report, "weightily impressed with strong desires for an improvement in religious life. They often met together on the first day of the week, and one by one gave such advice as occurred to them, and at other times read." In an interview which the committee had with them, one of them remarked, "that he hoped the partition wall that divided nations would be broken down, bigotry and prejudice done away, and all mankind come to live more like brothers."

The committee next proceeded to the settlement of the

Stockbridge Indians, about fifteen miles to the west of Brothertown. These Indians had removed from Massachusetts about ten years before. They consisted of about sixty families, and were settled on a tract of "very fine land," about six miles square. Like the former tribe, they received a small annuity from Government. Many of them had separate farms, which, "though poorly managed, enabled them to live in some degree of comfort." Others were very idle, "particularly the young men." They are described "as generally unacquainted with the English language, and in their dress and manners uncivilized." There are, says the report, "some sober, valuable characters among them, both men and women, who, when collected together, sensibly impressed us, by their grave and solid deportment, that the work of religion had taken hold of their minds;" and after stating that a Presbyterian minister from New England was in the habit of residing among them during eight months of the year, the Friends go on to say, "We found among this people some who discovered scruples in their minds about fixed prayers, and some outward ordinances. They also discovered a jealousy about the propriety of paying for preaching, saying, a man who would take money for his advice, could not give it from his heart." "We found them," continues the report, "engaged in building a saw-mill; and as they laboured under some considerable difficulties for want of sufficient money to go on with their work, we gave them ten pounds, and lent them twenty more. In the interview we had with the men and women of this tribe collectively, we had much comfort and satisfaction. One of them, on behalf of the rest, lamented that the great evil of drinking spirituous liquors had so much prevailed among his nation and western brothers, which had blinded many, and prevented their following the advice of Friends as they had used to do; for which he was very sorry, as the six nations had long experienced the kindness of William Penn and his children, but

hoped we would not be too much discouraged with respect to them."

The Oneida Indians next claimed the attention of the committee. They were settled upon a valuable reservation, about twenty-four miles square, distant about four or five miles from the Stockbridge Indians. Though the most numerous tribe in the State of New York, consisting, as was estimated, of about one hundred and fifty families, they seem to have made, at this time, very little, if any progress in improvement. They were generally idle and intemperate. Their land was but little cultivated, except here and there a few patches of corn, the labour being mostly performed by the women. "On viewing the uncivilized appearance of this nation," say the Friends in their report, "we felt our minds much discouraged: we had, however, a considerable number of them collected together, both men and women, and explained to them the objects of our visit." Though they had the inconvenience of an insufficient interpreter, they found that their visit "was exceedingly pleasing to the Indians," many of them appeared grateful for the attention and for the good wishes expressed by Friends: and notwithstanding the general habit of riot and dissipation, there were some, "both young and old, whose minds appeared to be enlightened, and who lamented the sorrowful situation of too many of their nation."

The committee state, that some of the Tuscarora tribe of Indians were then residing in part of the Oneida reservation. Their habits and manners were very similar to those of the Oneidas. From their settlement the committee were about to proceed to that of the Onondagoes; but understanding that they had just received their annuities from Government, and were then mostly given up to riot and intoxication, Friends were satisfied with merely sending them an address through one of their chiefs, who bore a good character, stating the object of their visit and the desire of Friends for their improvement.

The committee state, that at Brothertown, Stockbridge, and Oneida, there were schools established, which were not, however, well conducted, and which hence stood in need of advice and assistance.

From Oneida the committee proceeded to Cayuga, where about four hundred Indians, of different tribes, were assembled in treaty with commissioners appointed by the American Government. Way opened for Friends to have an interview with them, which appears to have been satisfactory. The committee, in concluding their report, say: "We have often had to lament the strong attachment of the Indians to spirituous liquors, which is the principal obstacle to their civilization and agricultural improvement, and we consider it of the utmost importance to prevent, by every possible means, the introduction of this article amongst them. And it is our decided opinion that it would tend greatly to their advantage, could they be prevailed on to have farms allotted to each family, in order that they might have some idea of separate property; which would be likely to produce habits of industry, and induce them more generally to till the ground for their support."

The information thus furnished to the Yearly Meeting having obtained its solid consideration, it was thought best to refer the subject to a committee appointed specially for the purpose, with instructions to take such measures as might appear best adapted to promote the object in view.

From this time the state of the Indians obtained the close and persevering attention of Friends of this Yearly Meeting. Some of the committee appear to have paid frequent visits to the settlements, and their report to the Yearly Meeting exhibits a very satisfactory progressive improvement.* In the year

* Robert Sutcliffe, whilst travelling in America, visited in 1805 the Indians in the state of New York, upon whom Friends were bestowing their kind care, and thus speaks, in reference to the advancement which, at this time, they had made in civilization, viz.:

1800 the Indians were visited by two Friends under religious concern, an engagement which is described as having been "very satisfactory."

In 1806 we find the committee suggesting to the Yearly Meeting, "that a fund might be raised so as to encourage some suitable Friends to go and reside among them." This suggestion appears to have been acted upon, and a considerable subscription was in consequence raised for the object, which was also essentially promoted by the subscription of Friends in England, as stated in the preceding part of this narrative. The liberality and encouragement extended to our friends of New York are thus alluded to in a letter from a friend of New York to William Dillwyn, in 1811: We are desirous our brethren in England may be satisfied that their benevolent contributions are appropriated in the way which appears the most likely to answer their views; for without their aid we should not probably have been in funds, so as to have gone on so broad a scale as we have done." Two years after the date of this letter, we find the committee having charge of Indian affairs, thus alludes to the same subject: "It is but justice to observe, that

"From the Indian village of Brothertown I came to another settlement of theirs, called The Orchard. Many of their habitations are formed principally of the bark of trees, attached to posts, which are fixed in the ground, the roofs being also of bark; but as it is taken off the trees in broad pieces, they contrive to make a pretty warm dwelling. A few chiefs and others have good houses of wood, well furnished; and some of the Indians, being very good workmen, and having complete sets of tools, I have seen houses of their building superior to many in England.

"As the whole of this day's journey lay amongst the Indians, whose habitations are pretty numerous in this quarter, I had a fair opportunity of forming some judgment of the progress they have made in the useful arts of civilized life; and I confess it is my opinion, that many in these villages are further advanced in this respect, and enjoy more of the comforts of life, than many of the inhabitants of the remote parts of Great Britain and Ireland."

the liberality of our brethren in England has been sensibly felt, as thereby the committee has been enabled to extend its views, and enlarge the sphere of its usefulness to this people."

In pursuance of the arrangement for the settlement of some Friends amongst the Indians, the committee in 1807 appointed a Friend who expressed a willingness to engage in that service, who was accompanied by his family. In the report for that year, the committee state, "There are two schools at Stockbridge, taught by their own people. At Brothertown there are also two, one of which is taught by a white man, and the other, for the females, by an Indian woman, and many of the children at both places have made considerable advances in school learning. At Oneida there is as yet no school, but the subject of establishing one is under consideration." In the minutes of the committee we find a reference from time to time to the satisfactory results of the labours of the Friend residing at Brothertown. One of his sons became usefully engaged in teaching a school.

In the year 1809, a Friend and his wife, with the approbation of the committee, went to reside among the Oneidas, to instruct them in agricultural and domestic concerns; and the necessary farming-stocks and implements of husbandry were forwarded for their use.

In the report of the Friends, appointed to visit the Indians in the year 1809, we find the following interesting statement, concerning the Onondago tribe, who, it may be remembered, were described in the report of 1795, as being peculiarly depraved and dissolute.

"On reaching the settlement, which is about thirty-three miles from Oneida, we had an opportunity with them (the Indians); all of us sitting on the grass, which was thought more convenient than meeting in the house.

"The natives appear better clothed than the Oneidas. They

received us very courteously, and we had a satisfactory time with them, which was greatly increased when we were informed, not only by themselves, but the interpreter, that they had totally refrained from the use of ardent spirits for about nine years, and that none of the natives will touch it. They spoke of the Great Spirit and its divine influence, with as much perspicuity as perhaps could be conveyed in any language."

The following letter, signed by four of their chiefs, addressed to Friends in 1811, will, we think, be read with interest:

"FRIENDS AND BROTHERS,

"We have heard from your council-fire once more; we have heard that you wanted to know whether the Onondagoes had left off the use of strong drink or not. Brothers, we have left off some time ago. You told us to

NOTE.—In connexion with this sketch of the labours of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting, the following extract from a letter written by Joseph Frost, soon after a visit which he paid to some of the Indians in the state of New York, dated the 16th of 5th month, 1812, is, we think, well worthy of a perusal. "The more I consider the subject the more important it appears to me. The concern of Friends, I reverently believe, sprung from that love which breathes peace and good will to all men. Some of us only hearing of this, it may have produced in us pitiful desires, and a willingness to do them good; and while we endeavour to promote their happiness, we may make them more miserable. I think I know by experience, that by visiting them in their destitute situation (comparable to white people) it has produced in me a willingness to do that for them, which, I have since seen, would have been to their disadvantage at present. I find it requires the wisdom of the serpent to learn their dispositions, and know what they can bear; and the harmlessness of the dove, to make a right application. I feel the need of more strength and wisdom to direct me when I go among them, therefore I desire Friends may not depend much upon me; great care is needful (it seems to me) lest things are crowded upon them faster than they can bear, and by doing much for them they depend on it, and so not help themselves."

leave off: the Great Spirit told us to leave off: we have listened to his voice. There are some that visit us from the Oneidas that drink; we think they will leave off by our good advice.

"Brothers. We are in want of cattle, chains, ploughs, and all kinds of farming utensils: you have told us that you would help us; we were glad to hear you were willing to help us.

"Brothers. We are in want of blacksmiths, carpenters, and other mechanics; we want to learn our children to work; we have opened our eyes—we now see that we must work. We are willing to work; we begin to raise wheat, and will do more if we can get help.

"Brothers. A part of our tribe lives at Buffalo. They are of the same mind with us: we all agree.

"We wish, if you will help us to oxen and farming utensils, that you would send them on as soon as you can, as we are much in want. You will find us of the same mind as we were when you were here: we hope to hear from you soon.

"Brothers. We respect you, and wish you all well: remember us at your great council. We look to you as our friends."

The following extract, from a short statement of the labours among the Indians, drawn up in 1813 by Friends of New York, will best exhibit the care and attention, which the committee bestowed upon the important object entrusted to them.

"By the reports of the Friends appointed from time to time to visit the different tribes, it appears, that although considerable endeavours have been used to promote the improvement of the Stockbridge and Brother-town tribes, and a family of Friends has resided several years at the latter place, and applied themselves with diligence to the service for which they were selected, these tribes have not improved equally with the others, considering their previous progress, the care which has been extended to them, and the time that has elapsed since it was first exercised, principally owing to the vicinity of white inhabitants, and the consequent facility of procuring spirituous liquors; they have, however, made considerable progress in agriculture, and the Stockbridge women have latterly taken much interest in a spinning-school established amongst them, and made rapid progress in that branch of industry so useful to them, and so important to their advancement in civilized life; and hopes are cherished, that beneficial effects will result to the Indian youth, from the schools which have been for a long time kept up in these tribes.

“During the time that our attention was principally confined to the Brothertown and Stockbridge tribes, Friends of the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania had given considerable aid to the Oneida tribe, and several Friends interested in their welfare had resided amongst them, for the purpose of promoting their agricultural and general improvement; but after considerable exertions for their benefit, Friends of Pennsylvania found it expedient to withdraw their care and attention; the Oneidas afterwards expressed renewed desires for Friends’ assistance, and as they were more immediately in our neighbourhood, and the Friends of Pennsylvania had extended their care to several more remote western tribes, it appeared proper that we should inspect into their situation. The Oneida tribe afterwards formed themselves into two parties, and made a division of their land; one was called the Christian party, in consequence of their having attached themselves to a missionary, who had for a long time resided in the tribe, and the other was called the Pagan party, and as there appeared to be the greatest probability of our being useful to the latter, from their being particularly desirous of our assistance, a family of Friends was placed there, whose counsel and attention have been very useful to the Indians. A school for the instruction of their youth, was some time since opened, and latterly extended to promote the improvement of their females in spinning. The Oneidas have become much interested in the cultivation of their land, and their improvements in husbandry, and increasingly sober habits, have given peculiar satisfaction.

“The committee have recently felt much interested for the Onondagoe tribe, who, having for some years past relinquished the use of ardent spirits, and become sober and industrious, requested the assistance of Friends: they have accordingly been supplied with oxen and farming utensils, and their agricultural improvement and advancement in civilization have been the most rapid of any of the tribes.”

By a statistical account published in 1813, it appears that the number of individuals composing the four tribes under the care of New York Friends, was one thousand four hundred and sixty-seven, who possessed in their own territory, four thousand two hundred and fifty acres of improved land. The produce of their land for the year preceding this date, is stated to be five thousand and twenty bushels of wheat, ten thousand nine hundred and thirty bushels of Indian corn, seven hundred bushels of rye, one thousand eight hundred and sixty bushels of oats, two hundred and ninety tons of hay, besides large quantities of potatoes, pease, beans,

and other vegetables ; a small portion however of this produce, it is said, was " raised on shares by white people." Their stock consisted of one hundred and eighty-seven milch-cows, eighty-one horses, one hundred and eight oxen, two hundred and fifty-five young cattle, one hundred and eighty-four sheep, and a great number of swine. They had thirty framed houses, thirty-one framed barns, three grist-mills, and four saw-mills ; the remainder of their buildings were made of logs and bark. In addition to this, they had a considerable stock of implements of husbandry, sledges, carts, and waggons. In the Brothertown tribe, which consisted of three hundred and two persons, it appears they had twenty-one ploughs, seventeen sledges, three carts, and three waggons ; and their mechanics, four carpenters, two blacksmiths, four shoe-makers, two tailors, and five weavers. They had manufactured in one year about three hundred and twenty yards of woollen, and six hundred of linen cloth. They possessed five looms, and were generally supplied with wool and flax spinning-wheels, with axes, hoes, scythes, &c.

The report of the Indian committee in the year 1815, manifested the continued care of Friends in this labour of love. It is as follows.

INDIAN REPORT, 1815.

" We have continued our attention to the trust confided to us ; and the tribes under our notice, excepting one, have been visited by some of our number, from whose report we are enabled to give a summary account of their condition. No material change appears to have taken place in the Brothertown tribe, (except that improvements have been made by the erection of several barns,) but, as heretofore, some are sober and industrious, and others the reverse.

" The same remark is applicable to the men of the Stockbridge tribe. The south settlement of the Oneida tribe affords encouragement by their improvement in agriculture ; and it is hoped that the injury to their morals, produced by the part which they and the other tribes took in the late war, will gradually be retrieved ; for it was a satisfaction to remark that their young men manifested less disposition to enter into the army than the elder chiefs, and their stay was not long. The school is continued at Bro-

thertown, and one was taught for some time in the summer at Oneida by a young Friend of the neighbourhood, but has since been discontinued.

“Satisfactory improvement continues to be made by the Stockbridge and Oneida women in spinning; in each of these tribes a school for their instruction has been kept, and the committee have rendered their assistance in making compensation to the teachers, and in furnishing additional quantities of wool and flax, and a number of spinning-wheels.

“The Onondagoe tribe was not visited, on account of the absence of their interpreter, and in consequence of the small-pox having been introduced from the army, and being very prevalent amongst them, when the committee were in that neighbourhood.

“There being reason to apprehend that it would spread in the Oneida and Stockbridge tribes, the committee judged it would comport with the benevolent views of Friends to endeavour to preserve them from the ravages of this malady, and concluded to have them inoculated with the cow-pock; which, after considerable difficulty, occasioned by their prejudice against it, was effected, and about a thousand individuals were vaccinated. The Onondagoes were by some other means inoculated with the small-pox.”

Two years later, in the epistle from New York to our Yearly Meeting in 1817, the subject is thus briefly and encouragingly adverted to: “Our committee, appointed to aid and encourage the different tribes of Indians resident within this state, have given us a satisfactory account of their progress in agricultural pursuits and domestic economy.”

The following portion of an address delivered by an Oneida Indian chief, to some Friends who visited this tribe in 1819, with a view to counsel and instruct them, and encourage them to still further advancement, is a proof of the grateful sense which this people entertained for the labours which had been bestowed upon them by our New York Friends, more particularly those which related to their spiritual good. The openness many of them evinced to hear and be taught of the doctrines of true religion, presents a pleasing feature in the work of Indian improvement.

“Brothers, it is impossible for us to express the gratitude we feel for the friendship which you have manifested towards us, and for this we raise our hearts and hands by way of

thanksgiving to Him who dwells in the realms of light and glory.

“ We also feel thankful to the Great and Good Spirit for the good counsel you have given us as relates to our temporal concerns, which we hope to put in practice. We feel more especially thankful for the counsel you gave us, when you spoke of the kingdom of God, a pure kingdom. Your words gladdened our hearts ; we believe with you, that there is such a kingdom, where all the good of all nations will meet together, and where no wicked will come. We believe with you one God made all nations, and wants all to be happy. Brothers, the kindness you and your Society have long manifested to us poor Indians is remembered with warm hearts. We look up to you as our friends ; we want our warmest respects to be given to our brethren the committee in New York, and tell them their kindness in leading us by the hand, and the good counsel we have received shall not stop here, but we shall convey it to the Seneca nation.”

The accounts from time to time received respecting these Indians were generally highly satisfactory, notwithstanding some discouraging circumstances which hindered the good work in view, the most obstructive of which was their relish for ardent spirits, which were readily supplied to them by the white traders. In 1821, however, a fresh difficulty arose, in the attempts which were then made for their removal to the distant and uncultivated wilds of the western frontier. These attempts produced much unsettlement in the minds of the Indians, which greatly retarded their improvement. The subject is thus alluded to in the New York Epistle of 1821 to our Yearly Meeting: “ Though still interested in the welfare of the aborigines of this country, we regret that we have it not in our power to furnish a more pleasing account of their improvement. The tribes under our immediate care have been lately much unsettled, in a

great measure by inducements which have been held out to them to leave their fertile lands and remove far to the west. How far these inducements may prevail is yet to be known. We still cherish the concern for their improvement, and find by the report of our committee on this interesting and benevolent object, that they are making progress in civilization and a knowledge of the useful arts, and that many of them abstain from the use of ardent spirits."

A report of the proceedings of their committee was again forwarded to our Yearly Meeting in 1823; by this report it will be seen, that the false representations and other modes adopted by the whites for their removal to the west, had so far prevailed in unsettling them, that some of them at this period entertained the prospect of speedily quitting their native soil. The report is as follows:

INDIAN REPORT, 1825.

"In attending to the concern committed to our charge, the four tribes under the care of the Yearly Meeting have been visited by some of our number; and although some of the natives are in rather an unsettled state, and looking towards removing their habitations, yet it appears that others are industrious and attentive to agricultural improvements.

"In the Brothertown tribe considerable advances have been made herein, as also in domestic manufactures, and there has been an increased attention to keeping sheep and other stock, making their own cloth, inclosing their lands with better fences, erecting buildings, &c.; which improvements have been promoted by small rewards for industry, paid out of their annuity. This tribe consists of sixty men and seventy-five women, besides children. Two schools are taught in this tribe, which appear to be under good regulation, and one in the Stockbridge tribe; in which tribe there is also a considerable number of framed houses and barns, and some farms well fenced and under good cultivation.

"In families where the men are sober and industrious, they are in the plentiful enjoyment of the comforts of civilized life; others less sober and industrious are consequently needy.

"It was recommended to this tribe to persevere in manufacturing their own apparel, as at Brothertown; which the sober and industrious amongst them are very desirous to adopt. And it appearing that the disposal of their annuity is, by a late act of the legislature, confided to the agents

appointed by Government to receive and pay, it is hoped that this change in the appropriation of their funds will enable each to obtain his equitable proportion, and tend to draw them off from their wandering habits, which lead to poverty and vice.

“The Oneida tribe, being the largest, consists of about one thousand one hundred and fifty individuals, some of whom have made considerable improvements in agriculture, and a few of them have inclosed large farms, and improved them, so as to produce in great plenty. In this tribe there is a school taught on the Lancasterian plan, and two Indian youths are learning the blacksmith business.

“The Committee has a Friend and his wife residing with the Onondagoe tribe, and as he is a blacksmith, and his wife a weaver, it is hoped their services will be useful. The principal men appear to be disposed to promote the views of Friends, and to dissuade their young men from habits of intemperance; they were encouraged and advised to wait on the Great Spirit, to dwell in his fear, that he might give them wisdom to bring up their children aright, to train them in habits of industry and the cultivation of their land. They having concluded to promote the cultivation of flax, were also encouraged to procure sheep, and manufacture cloth; and it was satisfactory to observe that they appeared disposed to acquire the knowledge of the most useful mechanic arts.

“The care of Friends, and the continued interest they have manifested were, in the different tribes, gratefully acknowledged; and as they place an implicit confidence in the Society, there appears to be still a prospect of usefulness in attending to this deeply injured people.”

From this period the removal of most of the Indians in the state of New York began rapidly to take place, and the labours of Friends for promoting their Christian instruction and civilization were in consequence gradually reduced to a very limited sphere of action. In 1831 their Yearly Meeting thus adverts to the subject: “The concern of this Yearly Meeting for the improvement of the Indian natives within its limits, has, we regret to say, made no progress during the last year. The voluntary removal of nearly the whole of the remains of several of the tribes under our care, to remote situations in the west, and the retention of the funds appropriated to Indian civilization, by those who have separated from Friends, prevented our committee from taking any active steps in the concern. Our sympathies for these injured

aborigines of our country have been deeply excited, in common with other Christian societies, by the measures of our government; and although these sympathies seem to have been unavailing, we trust that our society, as ability is afforded, will not cease to aid and instruct them; and we unite with you in the belief, that the inculcation of the truths of Christianity, is a primary and important step in the promotion of their civilization and welfare."

From this time to the year 1837, we do not find in the epistles received from New York Yearly Meeting any allusion to the subject. It does not, however, appear to have been lost sight of, and in 1837 it again engaged the attention of their Yearly Meeting; and we are informed that at this period arrangements were in progress, to obtain a more intimate and correct knowledge of the situation and circumstances of the tribes who had removed to new settlements, west of the Mississippi. In order more satisfactorily to effect this, a correspondence was opened by the Indian committee with several of the other Yearly Meetings, proposing, that they should co-operate with Friends of New York in this object. The following extract from the report of the New York Committee, in 1839, sufficiently explains their view.

INDIAN REPORT, 1839.

"The committee on the concern of the society for the improvement and instruction of the Indian natives in their new locations west of the Mississippi, in order to carry into effect the views of the Yearly Meeting, has corresponded with committees of the Yearly Meetings of New England, Baltimore, North Carolina, Ohio, and Indiana, on this important and interesting subject, by which, and by the Epistles from those Yearly Meetings, there appears to be a disposition on their part to act in concert with the several Yearly Meetings of Friends on this continent, in forming some plan for the benefit of the Indians, comprising a population of about two hundred thousand of those originally resident there, and of eighty-eight thousand removed and about being removed west of the Mississippi.

"When it is considered how great a body of Indians is collected on the frontier of the United States, suffering under long-continued and recent injury, and the keen sense of compulsory expatriation; and how these

feelings are likely to be increased, by the artifices of designing men around them to stimulate them to violence, a danger which is much heightened by their love of intoxicating liquors ; and how by these means they are liable to be drawn into sudden acts of hostility, which may devastate hundreds of miles of the frontier country, produce the massacre of a great number of whites, and lead to the extermination of the Indian population, and that the Society of Friends possesses the confidence of the Indians, and the favourable opinion of the president of the United States, and the department of war, as was evinced during the late benevolent exertions of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, on behalf of the Senecas and other Indians in this state, the committee considers it to be incumbent on the Society at large to exert that influence in a general and united action in advice and assistance to the Indian tribes.

“ It is proposed that the committees of the several Yearly Meetings adopting the measure, shall have an agent, or agents, as their pecuniary means may admit, residing at the central seat of Indian government, who shall acquire their confidence, so as to become advised of all their designs and movements, and use their exertions to prevent their assuming a hostile attitude, so much to be dreaded ; to be present at the councils of the individual tribes, and at the meeting of their federal government, and to endeavour to infuse a mild and gentle spirit into all their movements, by inculcating the peaceable doctrines of the Gospel, and to aid in promoting their literary instruction, agricultural improvement, and civilization ; to endeavour to eradicate their taste for intoxicating liquors, and prevent their being furnished with them by the whites, contrary to the wishes of the United States Government.

“ The design is of a general character, to take, as far as may be expedient, the supervision of the tribes within the limits of the United States, west of the Mississippi, but not to interfere with the movements of individual Yearly Meetings, any farther than they may request a co-operation. We are of the opinion that great and durable good may be effected, without a heavy expenditure or great labour to Friends, and that it has become the solemn and responsible duty of the Society to take upon itself this charge.”

The report, then, concluded with a proposal to the Yearly Meeting, to raise one thousand dollars in furtherance of the object, which the Yearly Meeting approved, and accordingly requested the Quarterly Meetings to open a subscription for this benevolent purpose.

Hitherto we find that the efforts in furtherance of the con-

cern of New York Yearly Meeting, in reference to the extensive field of labour which now seems opening before them, among the numerous Indian population west of the Mississippi, have been confined to preparatory measures only, these preparatory measures being nevertheless of a very important character.

It does not appear that way has yet opened for any other Yearly Meeting, except that of New England, to co-operate with that of New York in this important movement; arising probably from the circumstance that some of them are still employed in promoting the welfare of the Indians yet remaining within their borders; and that the Yearly Meetings of Maryland, Ohio, and Indiana, have, for some years past, been actively engaged in the cause of the Indians who have emigrated to the western frontier.

In order to determine the course most advisable to be pursued for the advancement of this noble enterprise, a correct knowledge of the situation and condition of these Indians became necessary. With a view to obtain this information, two Friends in the station of ministers, John D. Lang and Samuel Taylor, jun., both of New England, and Friends, under an apprehension of religious duty, offered themselves for this work, and met with the full concurrence of their friends. Some interesting information, in relation [to their visit we gave in a recent *Aborigines'* publication, and in the last epistle which our Yearly Meeting received from that of New York, dated 23rd of fifth mo. 1842, the subject of the important mission of these two Friends is thus spoken of: "Our solicitude for the improvement of the Indian tribes that have been removed west of the Mississippi river, is still warmly felt. By the report of our committee to whom this subject is confided, it appears that, acting in conjunction with a committee of New England Yearly Meeting, the services of two suitable Friends, who have felt concerned to go amongst them, have been accepted; and the time is drawing near when they are

expected to enter upon their labours. They will probably visit all the tribes that have been removed from their homes, and remain amongst them a sufficient length of time to ascertain their situation and their wants; which will furnish an opportunity to offer such counsel as their circumstances may seem to require, and to collect such additional information as, it is hoped, will assist us in determining the mode of relief which their case demands."

Our valued friends, John D. Lang and Samuel Taylor, Jun., soon after this proceeded on their arduous engagement, and after an absence of about four months, were permitted to return to their friends in safety. A condensed statement of the result of this visit is contained in the following interesting report, which they made to the committees of the two Yearly Meetings in 1843.

REPORT OF THE VISIT OF JOHN D. LANG AND SAMUEL TAYLOR, JUN., TO SOME OF THE INDIAN TRIBES LOCATED WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI, 1843.

"To the committees of New England and New York Yearly Meetings of Friends, on the concern for the Indians located west of the Mississippi River.

"Dear Friends,

"Having been permitted, through the goodness and merciful preservation of our great Care Taker, to accomplish our journey among the Indians, we now inform you that we have visited about twenty tribes and remnants of tribes of those located on the western frontier of the United States, and have taken the following notes and observations respecting them.

"At the close of New England Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1842, having consulted with several members of the committee on Indian Affairs, both of New England and New York Yearly Meetings, and they having expressed their con-

currence in our prospect of visiting Washington at that time, in order to procure some documents from the Indian department, we proceeded directly there, and had an introduction to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Upon being made acquainted with our business, he received us kindly, and freely offered to furnish us with such letters and documents, signed by the Secretary of War and himself, as might be useful in facilitating our contemplated visit. Whilst at Washington we procured some public documents and reports respecting the Indians, and returned pretty directly to New York. There we made some arrangements with the committee preparatory to our journey, and then returned to our homes.

“ Having made the needful preparations, and having certificates from the respective Meetings of which we are members, of their concurrence and unity in this engagement, we took leave of our families and friends the latter part of the Eighth month, 1842. On our way we called on some of the Indian Committee of New England Yearly Meeting, and then proceeded to New York ; where, having completed our arrangements for the journey, we took leave of the committee and many other Friends, and pursued our way to Ohio Yearly Meeting. We there met with the committee on the concern for the Indians of that Yearly Meeting, heard their report respecting the Shawnese school, and made such inquiries as seemed proper respecting the best mode of getting to the Mississippi River. Having a special desire to commence our journey as far north as the Winnebagoe tribe of Indians, and fearing that the boats would be impeded on account of the low state of the water in the Ohio River, it seemed most advisable to take the northern route. We accordingly travelled by land to Cleaveland, thence by steam-boat to Detroit, and by land across the State of Michigan to the mouth of (St.) Joseph’s River. Here we took steam-boat over Lake Michigan, sixty miles to Chicago. After waiting one day in this place, we departed by stage for Galena and Dubuque,

crossing the State of Illinois, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles. We reached the latter place in safety, though much fatigued with our journey, the roads being very dry and dusty, and the weather exceedingly warm. We arrived at Dubuque early on First-day morning, the 25th of Ninth month; and the following evening procured a conveyance to the Winnebago Indians. On Second-day morning, we left in a waggon, travelling in a north-westerly direction about one hundred miles across a beautiful prairie country to Turkey River. On Third-day afternoon, while stopping for some refreshment, about twenty-five miles distant from the Indian village, there came to the house five or six Indians in a state of intoxication, having procured their whiskey at a shop near by. They were very noisy, calling for whiskey, &c., and greatly annoying the peaceable settlers. The next morning, after leaving for the agency, we fell in with a number of companies, most of whom were intoxicated; some of them carrying whiskey on their ponies to their villages.

“On Fourth-day, the 29th of the month, 1842, we reached the mission for the Winnebago tribe of Indians, and took lodgings with the sub-agent, David Lowry, where we were kindly entertained by him and his family, and every facility in their power afforded us for conferring with the Indians, as well as a readiness evinced to furnish such information as was desired.

THE WINNEBAGOE INDIANS.

“This tribe is located north-west from Iowa territory, and west of Prairie du Chien, on land called the Neutral Ground. They are located in different parts of this land in settlements called villages. Their principal one, called the School Band, is near the sub-agency of David Lowry, on Turkey River, about one hundred miles north-west from Dubuque, and within four or five miles of Fort Atkinson. They number altogether about two thousand. These Indians live in rude lodges, or wigwams as they are sometimes called, built in the usual Indian style, by forcing forked sticks into the ground for posts, into the forks of which they lay poles for plates and ribs, preparatory

to covering them with oak bark. The sides are either made of bark, mats made of flags, or skins fastened to the plates and extending to the ground. These wigwams are from ten to twenty-five feet in length, and about ten feet wide. The inside of the building is fitted up with a sort of frame-work on each side, made of poles about two feet high and three feet wide, intended as a sort of bedstead, on which they fasten skins or mats, where they lounge and sleep, leaving a space through the centre four feet wide. At each end there is an aperture or door. The fire is built in the centre, the smoke escaping through a hole in the top.

“There are not unfrequently as many as three or four families, amounting to twenty persons or more, occupying one of these miserable hovels. When about their homes, they live principally upon soups, made of wild fowl and venison, turnips and potatoes. They also eat an abundance of boiled corn. Some corn-bread and a very little wheat flour are used by them.

“There is no regular order as to the time or manner of taking their meals. Some are seen eating their soups outside of their wigwams, some are eating while sitting on their beds; while others are engaged in different pursuits; and should any person of another family happen to come into the lodge when hungry, he would as freely partake without invitation as he would of his own.

“The dress of the men consists mainly of blankets; all of them wear the waistcloth; some use moccasins and leggins, and a few wear a calico frock or shirt. The head is generally uncovered; a few, however, use a turban. The dress of the women consists of a broad cloth skirt and blanket. Some of them wear moccasins and leggins; the head is entirely uncovered, except that the blanket is sometimes thrown over it for a covering, but they use no other. The dress of the large children is similar to that of the grown persons of the same sex. Most of the small children go naked during the warm season; but those that attend school are clothed similarly to the white children on the frontier settlements. The greater part of the men and women wear ornaments, such as wampum, beads, bells, and jewellery. Most of the men paint their faces on special occasions; some part of the face is painted red and some black.

“The principal employment of the men consists in hunting at certain seasons of the year; and when not thus engaged, they do but very little labour of any kind, it being considered disgraceful, both by men and women, for the man to be seen at work. Much of their time is spent in riding, of which they are exceedingly fond. They likewise spend a portion of it in ball-playing and other sports, and a considerable time is spent in lounging about in idleness. The women are generally industrious, performing the greater part of the manual labour both in the camp and on the land. They look dejected, and appear more like slaves than otherwise. Many of the

women and children receive very severe treatment from the men in their drunken revels ; from which cause some of them are maimed.

"The Winnebagoes have but one school, and that is supported by the General Government, and is under the immediate superintendence of the sub-agent. There have been, during the past year, about ninety children at the school, some of whom have made pretty good proficiency in learning. The school was vacated while we were there. We were informed that there was much difficulty in getting a portion of the children to attend constantly, in consequence of an undue influence exercised over them by interested men. This school may be considered as rather an interesting institution ; and, from what we could gather from the teachers, the children are as susceptible of instruction as the whites. They are taught in the English language altogether.

"This tribe is governed by chiefs, who sometimes receive the office by hereditary descent ; and at others by a choice of the people ; and sometimes they are appointed by the agents of the General Government. They have some vague notions of the Deity, or Great Spirit, as He is more generally called by them. They also believe in a state of future rewards and punishments, and talk about a bad Spirit. Very few, if any, have embraced Christianity.

"The Winnebagoes this year raised about 2500 bushels of Indian corn, besides a pretty large supply of potatoes and other vegetables, on grounds prepared by the agent of the Government near his location, by the band called the School Band. The annuity paid to this tribe amounts to nearly ninety thousand dollars in money, goods, and appropriations for different purposes. Previously to their receiving it, the sub-agent collects the whole tribe, and pays over to the head of each family the amount due to them. Notwithstanding the large sum which they receive, they are still in a deplorable and suffering condition, and fast wasting away. Much of their misery may be traced to the treatment of some of the white people towards them. But leaving the past, and looking only to the present conduct of the white man, it is evident that unless something more effectual is done to break up the corrupt and iniquitous traffic in whiskey, as well as the fraudulent trade carried on among the Indians by some of those persons licensed by the Government, the Winnebagoes will in a few years be numbered with the tribes that are not.* We were credibly informed, that in

* We were informed by the agent that he had registered the names of thirty-nine Indians, who had been butchered in their drunken revels among themselves, within the space of fourteen months ; and he did not doubt but that there were others who had been killed in this way, whose names had not come to his knowledge.

defiance of the present rigid laws, immediately after the payment of 1841, there was sold to this tribe two hundred barrels of whiskey; and at the time of our being there in 1842, the whiskey sellers had increased in number one third. These whiskey dealers and licensed traders find a strong inducement to follow up the poor Indian, from the fact that he receives so large a payment at one time.

"The Indians are improvident to the last degree, and but poorly calculated to keep any amount of surplus property; so that within four or five days the whiskey seller residing on the frontier, and the licensed trader who is permitted to vend his goods among them, get nearly all the money. The licensed traders are numerous, and generally plant themselves at the time the money is paid over, in the immediate vicinity of the place where the payment is made. They sell the Indians the most trifling and worthless articles for an enormous profit; they are often tempted to buy these articles from their gaudy appearance. After the Indian has parted with his last dollar in money to the whiskey seller or licensed trader, in payment of old debts for whiskey, or for some of the above-mentioned articles, (and he is always largely indebted to these dealers,) he then takes the articles he has purchased of the licensed trader to the whiskey shop, and sells them for a much less price than he gave, and takes his pay in whiskey, at ten or even twenty times the actual cost to the seller. It is no uncommon thing for an Indian, after he has parted with all his money, and many other necessary articles, to barter away his gun, horse, and even his blanket, for a few bottles of whiskey. We were credibly informed that these whiskey shops not unfrequently have large piles of blankets, and large stacks of guns, that have been taken from the poor natives for a little whiskey.

"Thus we see that the policy of the Government, and the benevolent efforts of those who are honestly labouring among them for their good, are almost wholly defeated by the avarice of those lawless men.

"On the Sixth day of the week and the first of Tenth month, agreeably to a previous arrangement, we met about thirty of their chiefs and principal men in council at the agent's house. Our object in calling them together was explained by David Lowry, the sub-agent; and then our certificates from our friends, and the letters, &c., from the Secretary of War addressed to the Indians, were severally read and explained to them. We then felt constrained to make a few remarks, and to extend such advice as seemed proper; after which, Little Hill, one of the chiefs, replied, 'that what he had heard was very good, and that they had heard a number of talks from their great father, the President; and he had promised to help them, and keep off the whiskey sellers, but he had not done it, and now it was too late. He supposed he had tried but could not; that he

had such great matters to attend to that he could not see to their small concerns; and now it was too late to help them.'

"We then told them we did not believe it was too late for them to refrain from drinking whiskey. We told them that much that they complained of we believed to be true, and that the white man had wronged them, but that we wished them to understand that they yet had good friends among the whites, who were grieved at the conduct of bad white men towards them; we hoped that they would not be discouraged, but try to do better themselves, and that we and our brothers at home were disposed to do all in our power to help them. And after making on our part some other remarks relative to their condition, they expressed their satisfaction. Little Hill spoke to some of the elder chiefs, and, as we understood, requested them to reply to us as he was young, and wanted some of his elder friends to make a speech. They severally said, they were well pleased with our talk but had nothing further to say. Little Hill then rose and shook hands with us, and then commenced speaking with us through the interpreter, young Lowry. Referring to their former condition, previous to their intercourse with the whites, he said, 'The Great Spirit had made us all, but he has made us different. Some men he made white, some he made red, and placed them at a distance one from the other. They, the red men, lived happy, and he supposed the white man lived happy too. They then had no sickness nor deaths amongst them, except from old age; all their people lived to be old and white-headed. But when the white man came among them they then became sick, and died young.—The white man brought fire-water amongst them; they supposed the white man got the whiskey from the bad Spirit, for surely they never got it from the good Spirit. They began to sell it to the Indians, and then their miseries commenced; and they had become reduced and could not refrain from drinking, so long as the white man sold it to them, and now they despaired of ever being any better, and the only way for them to be made better was to keep the whiskey away. The white man did not know what it was to go hungry and cold; but the poor Indian did. He believed that we pitied them and talked to them for their good, and he thanked us for it, and said he would tell it to his people, and hoped they would mind our talk,' to which they all assented. He then said, 'Brothers, I have nothing more to say,' and shaking hands with us again, sat down.

"After gathering the foregoing facts and observations respecting the Winnebagoes, we took leave of our friend Lowry and family, as well as the other white inhabitants connected with them at the establishment, and returned to Dubuque, on the Mississippi. We then took steam-boat down the river about two hundred miles, to Burlington; thence we took

stage and private conveyance, by way of Mount Pleasant, Salem, and Iowa, to the agency of the

SACS AND FOXES,

distant about eighty miles. We reached this place the eighth of Tenth month, about one o'clock, P. M. The tribes were, at the time, assembled for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with the General Government, through Governor John Chambers, the negotiator. The whole Sac and Fox nation were in the neighbourhood, but the men only attended the council. Just as we reached the council the chiefs commenced speaking, and spoke with much animation. One of the Fox chiefs spoke first, and then a Sac, and so alternately, till four had spoken; the last being Keekuk, their principal chief, a celebrated orator. The purport of their talk was about the same, and resulted in an agreement to sell all their lands to the United States, for the sum of one million and fifty-five thousand dollars. Eight hundred thousand of this sum was to be put at interest at five per cent., and the remainder to be appropriated to the payment of their debts. They were also to be provided with lands to settle upon, south-west of the Missouri River, where they were to remove within three years.

“After the adjournment of the council at that time, we went to the agent’s house, where the Governor put up during his stay at this place. He received us kindly and entered into conversation very freely, respecting the condition of these tribes of Indians. He remarked, that unless something was done to better their condition, and that soon, they must in a very few years be all wasted away, in consequence of the wickedness and treachery of the whiskey sellers and other traders, who are taking advantage of these poor ignorant natives, by obtaining their money and other valuable articles in exchange for whiskey and trifling commodities of no real value to the Indians. These articles he remarked are frequently sold to them for ten or twenty, and in some instances for a hundred times their real cost; and in a very short time these unprincipled traders manage to obtain the last dollar the Indian has. And he further said, that some of the accounts brought in against the Indians stagger credulity; in one instance one of these accounts was exhibited for settlement amounting to sixteen thousand dollars, which he had ascertained to have grown out of the remnants of an old stock of goods not worth five hundred dollars. He remarked that whiskey was no doubt in many instances sold to the Indians, and charged as corn, blankets, or other articles which the licensed traders have a right to sell to the Indians, while it is unlawful to sell them whiskey. He said also, that the advice of the whiskey sellers and other traders was unbounded in its influence upon the Indian, and that he had found much difficulty in treating with them on that account, as these traders were constantly hanging about them and advising them

against adopting such a course as would be for their good, and cautioning them not to leave the chase, nor lay down the gun or the blanket, to have no schools established among them, and in fine against civilization in any way. What we saw and heard during our stay at the Council Ground, fully confirmed the statements of the Governor. While we were there, we met with men of influential character, some of whom it is known have been long engaged in a trade with the Indians, by which they have amassed great wealth. These men used their utmost skill to make us believe that the Indians were a happy people; that there was no necessity for any benevolent exertions on their behalf, and that they were now living very comfortable. 'An Indian,' say they, 'was made to hunt, not to work; and they are so very happy in keeping to their old habits of life, that any attempts to induce a change only serve to make them unhappy.' They argued against educating the Indians at all, either within or without their borders; saying, they have as much knowledge as it is necessary for an Indian to possess.

"There were also other men associated with these traders, either by friendship or otherwise, of high standing in the community, who were forward in sustaining them in their selfish and erroneous statements. And what is most to be deplored is, that the Indians will more readily listen to the counsel of these men, than to those who are disinterestedly engaged for their good. We can but hope, however, that when they shall be removed to their new homes, all intercourse with their old advisers may be broken off, and they be left to receive better counsel from men who are not so intently bent on their own aggrandizement, at the expense of the life and happiness of the Indian.

"These tribes number in all about two thousand two hundred. They are a large, stately race, particularly the men. None of these Indians, to our knowledge, cultivate the soil; but are, in general, hunters. They have, however, a large pattern farm carried on for their benefit, by a Government farmer. Their annuity at this time is about half the amount of that of the Winnebagoes. They live in wigwams or lodges similar to those of all the uncivilized Indians. They have no schools, nor any civil or religious institutions among them; but in other respects, their manners and customs are about the same as those of the Winnebagoes. A few of their children have received some instruction at the Choctaw academy in Kentucky; but for the want of a suitable opportunity to apply what little learning they may have obtained, and in consequence of the jealousy and prejudice of their own nation against civilization, soon after their return, they fall into the uncivilized habits of their *tribe*. There was little opportunity while there of conversing with them, owing to their engagements in making their treaty. We visited most of their tents, and took a view of them as they were encamped on the open prairie.

"After collecting what facts we could in relation to these tribes, we returned to Salem, a distance of about fifty miles, where we staid two or three days with Friends, and then returned to the Mississippi, where we took stage at Fort Madison for Keokuk, and from thence by steam-boat went to (St.) Louis. While there, we called on D. D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs, who received us kindly. We presented him with our documents from the Government, as well as our certificates from our friends at home. He gave us a passport to travel through all the tribes within his superintendence.

"Here again the same lamentable tale was told respecting the devastation that whiskey was making amongst all the different tribes within his jurisdiction. He informed us, that they were annually diminishing in numbers; and that unless something more effectual could be devised for their benefit by way of putting a stop to the iniquitous traffic in whiskey, they would soon be all wasted away. He gave us copies of reports received from the several schools within his superintendence, for our perusal."

THE SHAWNESE INDIANS.

"We left (St.) Louis by stage for (St.) Charles, a distance of twenty miles; thence took steam-boat for Westport, nearly five hundred miles up the Missouri River; the navigation of which, at this time, was considered very precarious, on account of the low state of the water, and the numerous snags and shoals in the river, which caused much anxiety to us, as well as to the officers of the boat, both by night and by day; yet, through all, we were mercifully favoured to reach our destined port unharmed, and then proceeded by land about nine miles to Friends' School in the Shawnese Nation. We reached the school early in the evening, where we were cordially received by all the Friends of the establishment, and hospitably entertained.

"The day following we made arrangements for a council with the Indians, viewed the premises, &c., and in the evening visited the school, heard the scholars answer scripture questions, spell, &c. The school consists of twenty-three boys and fourteen girls. We were pleased with its appearance at this, and subsequent visits that we made; the scholars manifested a good degree of activity and appeared cheerful and happy. They had made considerable proficiency in their studies; as much as could reasonably be expected under the circumstances in which they were placed. They are taught in the English language, and converse in English with the whites; but when conversing among themselves, they speak the Shawnee. Attached to this school is a large farm, the income of which

goes to the support of the Institution. The boys work on the farm, and are instructed in agriculture, the school being conducted somewhat on the manual labour plan. We were well satisfied with the appearance of the farm. The school is wholly supported by the Yearly Meetings of Friends of Maryland, Ohio, and Indiana ; and was instituted at its present location by them at the request of the Indians. We made a visit to the Methodist Mission School, distant about three miles from that of Friends'. Their buildings are of brick, and large, and an extensive farm is attached to the establishment. This school also is conducted on the manual labour plan. We were informed that they instruct upwards of eighty children annually at this Institution. Our Government has done much towards its establishment and support, and the deficiency is made up by the Methodist Board. The children were making tolerable progress in the various studies in which they were engaged, as well as in agriculture and the mechanic arts. The Baptists have also a small school in the Shawnese nation, but at the time of our visit it was vacated.

“ After visiting the schools, we called on several families of the Indians, many of whom appeared to be living tolerably well in comfortable log houses ; some of them have pretty good furniture, utensils for cooking, &c., and some have barns and other out-buildings. They raise a supply of Indian corn for themselves and cattle, and keep oxen, cows, horses, hogs, and a few sheep. All of them raise a large number of fowls. Some of them have peach-orchards, and have sent some peaches to market the past season. Many of the men of this tribe are industrious, as well as the women ; a few of the men are mechanics, and work by the day for the white settlers, and give satisfaction to their employers. They appear to be adopting the dress and manners of the whites, and to be advancing slowly in civilization. It is reported that some of them have embraced Christianity, but most of them adhere to their ancient views of religion. A considerable number are yet given to dissipation ; they all appear to have a continued regard for Friends, and received us kindly, manifesting much interest in our visit. We held a number of councils with them during our stay in the nation, to pretty good satisfaction, and rendered them such advice as seemed proper, to which they listened with interest and attention. They were apt at making us acquainted with their grievances. At one of the councils with the chiefs and head men of the nation the following speech was made, our certificates and documents having been previously read, and we having rendered such counsel and advice as way opened for, viz. :—

“ **BROTHERS** :— Perhaps it is the will of God that we should meet to-day to talk over things together ; and if there was no trouble in the way, we could get along much better in making you a reply. You know that when

there is only a little trouble in the way, we cannot get along so well. Brothers, we are glad to hear you talk ; and when we meet in this way, we think about God and talk about Him ; for we believe it is his will that we should think about Him. and talk about Him. We greet you as brothers, and send our love and best wishes to our friends, the Quakers, who sent you to see us, their Indian brothers. Brothers, this is not the first time our friends, the Quakers, have come to see us to instruct us in the things you have been talking about to-day. A long time ago our friends, the Quakers, gave us the same instruction, and our young men who are seated around you at this time, have heard their talk, and now live agreeably to their advice ; for we think that your way of living is good. Brothers, all our young men who are here to-day understand what you say and like your talk ; they do not drink whiskey, but work, raise corn, wheat, oats, have horses, cows, sheep, and hogs, and live comfortably, and are saving something for their children. As to my improvement, it is growing less as I grow older. Brothers, we that are seated around you, believe that what you say is true. I have given up drinking whiskey a long time ago, and think about other things. I think about God and feel that I have religion in me. We believe that your religion is a good one, and your talk and your feelings towards the Indians are good and right. A long time ago, your old men talked to us about your religion, and we told them about our religion ; and they told us, that though your religion was different from our religion, yet if the heart was right we could travel together through this world, and be saved at last.

“ Brothers, you say that you have come a long way to see your Indian brothers, and now you see we are in a bad condition, (alluding to their head chief, who was present in a state of intoxication,) like some of our Indian brothers whom you have been to see. We cannot help it, so long as the white men will sell whiskey to the Indians. Our great father (the President) can prevent it, but no one else can. We want he should stop up the barrel, and not suffer any to run out to the Indian.

“ Brothers, as to the school, we cannot do much ; we can talk to our people about sending their children, but if parents will not send their children, we cannot help it. If you get along well with the children you now have, parents will see it, and become willing to send their children, as they wish them to learn to work and read and write like white people. Brothers, we believe that all you have said to us is true, and we wish you to carry this talk of ours home with you, and tell our friends, the Quakers, all about what you have seen among your Shawnese friends ; that many of them have good farms, raise stock, viz., horses, cows, sheep, and hogs, and many of them do not drink whiskey, but have good houses, good furniture, and live comfortably. Brothers, that is all I have to say.’

"The Shawnese nation number about twelve hundred. They are situated on the east side of the Kansas River, and west of the State of Missouri. They have a beautiful tract of country, one hundred miles long, and twenty-five broad."

THE KICKAPOO INDIANS.

"After spending some time with the Shawnese, we hired horses and an Indian guide, and rode up the Missouri River about fifty miles to the Kickapoos, a small tribe of about four hundred, situated above Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri. They are nearly all agriculturists, raising a sufficiency of corn for themselves, and some to sell. They also raise some wheat, potatoes, and other vegetables, and keep horses, cattle, and hogs; and some of them live pretty comfortably. Their cabins generally are filthy, and some of them exceedingly so. There is no school in this tribe. A number of them belong to the society of Methodists; others are the followers of an Indian man whom they call the Prophet, a man of some talent, but said to be an arch deceiver. The greatest number still adhere to their old traditions. The general appearance of these Indians was filthy: many are much given to dissipation and other vices, especially those of them residing near the Fort. The Methodists have a missionary in this tribe.

"We held a council with them, and endeavoured to lay before them what appeared proper, persuading them to leave their bad practices, and become sober and virtuous. There were present at this council about thirty of their chiefs and principal men. They heard what we said to them very attentively, but not being ready to reply, requested another interview. Accordingly, a number of them met us in the evening; and after consulting a time among themselves, made the following reply, through one of their number who understood English.

"'Brothers, we understood what you had to say to-day to us, and this is what our chiefs say to you. We are glad you are come to see us; we believe what you have said to us to-day is true. We were once bad, but now try to do better, and hope you will help us. We remember what you said about the Great Spirit, and we know what you said about the Great Spirit to be true. We are very glad you have come to talk with us about these things. We believe the Christian way is the best, and what you have told us about it is true.

"'We are glad to hear what you have said to us about building houses, and schooling our children. We cannot do much; we want you to tell our great father at Washington to help us. We heard his talk to us about whiskey and other matters. We don't make whiskey ourselves, and we

tell our young men not to drink it, but we cannot help it so long as white men sell it to them. We don't know how to make the white men take the whiskey away, but the great men at Washington do. We hope they will help us.'

"They then informed us how glad they were we were come to see them, and wished us to tell the men at Washington of their wants. They said they were poor, and had no waggons to gather their corn in and carry it to market; they had no ploughs; their mills were out of repair, and their young men had to go to mill near the whiskey shops, and they would get drunk. They said these things were due to them by treaty stipulation; and their great father had promised to attend to those things, but had not. They wished us to go and see him, and let him know what they said. After this, they took us by the hand, and parted with us in a very friendly manner.

"The next morning, the third of Eleventh month, 1842, we returned back as far as the Stockbridge tribe; a small remnant of a once numerous tribe of Indians, but at this time numbering only seventy-seven. They were originally from New England. We reached the house of the principal chief, Thomas T. Kendrick, about eleven o'clock, A.M., having previously made an arrangement for meeting with them. The chief had a long trumpet, which he made use of to collect the tribe, which being sounded, they soon came together, men, women, and children. They all sat down in an orderly manner, and we had a religious opportunity with them, greatly to our peace and comfort; and as they nearly all understood some English, we spoke to them without an interpreter, it being the first instance of our addressing a company of Indians in this manner. The greater part of the adults of this tribe are professors of Christianity. The principal chief is a sober, sensible man. After we had relieved our minds to them, he spake some time to his people in the Indian tongue, referring, as we understood, to what had been said. One of their number, a young man that had received an education at some of the schools in Connecticut, was requested by the chiefs to say to us, that they understood all we had said to them, and that it was all true; and he hoped they might often think of it and improve from it.

"They said they considered it a great favour from God that he had sent us to see them, and give them such good advice. The Quakers had always been friends to the Indians, and had never wronged them. They had heard much about the Quakers, and considered them their friends. They said they noticed our advice to them to endeavour to forget the injuries done them by the whites, and he hoped they might practise it. They said they were a very little company, but they had long resolved to improve, and live like good white men; they had given up hunting and drinking whiskey, and

were trying to live by farming. They wished us to tell our friends at the east that they were going to build a school-house, and have a school for their children. They appeared to be very sincere in their remarks, and we were encouraged to hope that they would continue in their improvements. They were further advanced in civilization than any of the tribes we had previously visited. The chief, Thomas T. Kendrick, had quite a library of books, and could write tolerably well.

“They complained that they had not received their portion of the money due to them for the lands at Green Bay, sold to the Government; that they were promised this money at the time of their removal, but had not yet received it, and that they needed it in carrying on their farming operations, and were now suffering for want of it; that they were poor, and not able to go to Washington, but desired that Friends would lend them some assistance in getting their just dues. We accidentally met with an aged female Indian, residing not far from this settlement of Stockbridges, who appeared exceedingly bright, although she had lived to the advanced age of seventy-four years. She was living in a small log cabin; her name is Catherine Everett. She told us, that when a child she lived at Eavesham, in New Jersey, and that she was well acquainted with Friends; and said she knew that dear old Friend, Joshua Evans, the man who wore a long beard. She said, ‘she thought him the best man in the world, he was so very good to the poor Indians; and she always loved the Quakers from her childhood, and thought a good deal about her good friends in the east, and she believed they prayed both for her and the Indians in the west, and that their prayers were heard and answered, and that she rejoiced that the Lord had remembered them, and sent the Quakers to see them and encourage them, for they needed it. She knew she was a poor ignorant old creature, but sometimes she hoped to be permitted to meet her Saviour in that mansion which Christ had gone to prepare for his followers; where there is no difference between the white man and the red man; for she thought there would be but one place for the good white man and the good red man; and one place for the bad white man and the bad Indian. She desired that we and our friends would remember the poor Indian in the west. Sometimes when she awoke in the morning, her soul was filled with love to God and all mankind; to a great many she never saw in this world. She knew she was a poor old woman, and had been very wicked, but hoped the Lord would forgive her; and she was sometimes comforted in remembering that Christ said, ‘he that cometh to him he will in no wise cast off.’ She wanted we should give her love to our brethren in the east, and desired us and them to pray for her, for she was a poor creature. ‘The fervent prayer of a righteous man,’ said she, ‘prevails much.’ Sometimes she was very sick, and thought she should die; and at those times she thought

she should be happy, for her soul was filled with love to God and everybody ; she wanted to think of God all the time, it made her so well in her heart, (putting her hand to her breast.) When we were about parting with her, she appeared much affected, so that the tears rolled down her furrowed cheek. She observed, we might never meet again in this world, for it was but a little time that we had to stay here, but we should meet again in another world, where there would be no more trouble. ‘I am,’ said she, ‘a poor old creature, and don’t know much, but I feel to love God, who has done so much for me, through Christ.’”

THE DELAWARE INDIANS.

“We next visited the Delawares. They are situated on the west side of the Kansas River, opposite the Shawnese, and number about one thousand souls. They have an excellent country, calculated to support a large population. About one half of this tribe are in an improving condition, cultivating corn and vegetables. They keep horses, cattle, and hogs, and an abundance of fowls ; most of them live in comfortable log or timber houses, and are advancing slowly in civilization. Some of them have cast off the blanket, and are adopting the dress and manners of the whites. These have given up drinking whiskey, and send their children to school. A large portion of them, however, yet remain in an uncivilized state, wear the blanket, hunt, and manifest no disposition to improve in any thing good. They drink whiskey, fight, and are addicted to all the vices common to the Indians in their uncivilized state. Some of them are celebrated hunters and warriors, and often fight their way through the wild tribes quite to the Rocky Mountains. They kill the buffalo and bring home the skins, and barter them away with the traders for whiskey and other articles, such as beads, wampum, &c. Their near location to the state of Missouri and the whiskey sellers and other traders who settle on and near the frontier line, operates as a great hindrance to their improvement, and will continue to be a bar in the way of their advancement, while these unprincipled traders are suffered to carry on the traffic with them. Every advantage appears to be taken of their ignorance as well as of their natural thirst for strong drink.

“We met with two of their principal chiefs and some of their head men at the Baptist Missionary’s house, and rendered them such advice as appeared to us proper, upon subjects relating to their welfare ; all of which they appeared to receive kindly, according to their reply. They referred to the friendship that had long existed between the Quakers and the Delawares, and said that this friendship had never been broken ; and, after

speaking of the wrongs that had been practised upon them by some of the whites, they said, that ‘the Quakers had never injured them, that they had never opened their veins, nor so much as scratched them.’ They were pleased that we had thought so much about them, as to come so great a distance to see them; they hoped they should mind what we had said to them, and try to improve. The chief said that he was sorry that there were no more of his people present on this occasion, but hoped we should not be discouraged, for it was a pity for any one to begin to do good and then give it up.

“There are quite a number of war chiefs belonging to this tribe, who refused to meet with their brethren on this occasion, having at a previous time met, and heard some remarks intended for their improvement and preservation, with which they were not well pleased, and were decidedly opposed to meeting again on such an occasion. We did not, however, feel satisfied to leave without seeking another opportunity with them, and accordingly appointed a time to meet them at one of their own houses. When the time came we met some ten or fifteen of them, and addressed them on subjects relating to their moral and religious welfare; to all of which they expressed their satisfaction, saying, they were glad to hear us talk, and hoped they should mind what had been said to them. Although these fierce-looking warriors had previously made some severe threats against the first man that should name these subjects to them, they offered no violence or unkind treatment to us, but appeared very attentive and willing to hear us speak with freedom on all the subjects relating to their welfare; and then addressed us in a kind manner; the head chief saying, he was glad to see his dear brothers and hear them talk, and hoped they should mind what was said to them. We then parted with them, feeling much relieved, the Indians manifesting much affectionate feeling towards us.

“The Moravians, Methodists, and Baptists, have each separate missions amongst the Delawares. The Baptists have a small school, where some ten or fifteen children annually receive some instruction. The Moravians are educating a large number in that portion of the tribe called Munsees. The Baptist school was not in operation when we were there. The Methodists have a missionary among them, but no school. A few of the Delaware children are receiving some education at the several schools in the Shawnese nation. The Munsee Indians, consisting of about two hundred, are a branch of the Delaware nation, and formerly resided on the Lehigh River, in Pennsylvania; and, as we understood, these Indians are the descendants of one of the tribes that made the treaty with William Penn under the great elm-tree. This memorable event has been handed down by tradition among the Indians from generation to generation; and

there are now a number of them who can give a pretty correct account of the transactions of that remote period.

“The Moravian Brethren have extended a care towards a portion of this tribe for more than half a century. Teachers and missionaries have, during that time, been employed amongst them; and at the time of our visit, there were two men and their wives engaged in giving them some literary, moral, and religious instruction. They appeared to be pious persons, and honestly engaged in the discharge of their arduous duties. They received us cordially, and manifested a willingness to assist us in promoting the object of our visit. Owing to the unsettled state of these Indians, their wandering habits and unwillingness to work on the land, and the small annuity paid to them by the Government, there has not been that improvement that might be reasonably looked for, when we take into account the great amount of labour bestowed upon them. Most of them have log or timber houses, and cultivate more or less land, and raise corn for their own supply during the year. Some few cultivate wheat and potatoes. They keep horses, cattle, hogs, and fowls, and have some furniture in their houses, such as poor beds, tables, chairs, some cooking utensils, &c. They all wear the blanket, and in many respects dress in a style about half way between the whites and Indians. They are great smokers, and some of them drink whiskey to excess. It is said, they are a kind-hearted people, and a number of them have embraced Christianity, and joined with the Moravians, Methodists, or Episcopalians. The Moravians have a small meeting-house and school-house on their land.

“We met sixty or seventy of these Indians of both sexes at their meeting-house on First-day evening. They behaved with sobriety and Christian gravity, and after we had freed our minds, and our certificates had been read, one of the chiefs of the Delawares, after having spoken a few words to his associate chief, (both of whom were at a previous meeting of ours,) rose and delivered the following remarks.

“ ‘Brothers, we are glad you have come to see us, and have given us such good advice, and to talk with us, and tell us about living better and becoming better men and women.—Brothers, I hope I shall do better myself, and that my people will do better also. Brothers, our fathers and your fathers lived together as friends and brothers; they never shed each other’s blood; no, they never scratched each other. I am glad that this friendship continues even to the present time, and that the blood now runs freely in our veins.’ Afterwards, one of the principal men belonging to the Munsees made a few feeling remarks, expressive of his satisfaction with the meeting, and the interview closed.

“Second-day morning, being informed by the Moravian missionary that they usually met every morning at nine o’clock for worship, and that there

was liberty for us to go in and sit with them if we chose; after we had reflected upon it, we thought it might be best for us to attend the meeting; and accordingly we went in and sat with them until their services were over; after which, we had some labour amongst them. One of their principal men then rose, and in a feeling and broken manner, even to tears, made the following very affectionate and pertinent remarks.

“ ‘Brothers, I want to talk a little with you. I am glad to see you this morning, and glad to hear you talk about Jesus, and was glad to see you and hear you yesterday. Brothers, the Munsees are spread all about, and have now no chiefs. Some few are settled round here; some are mixed with the Stockbridges, some with the Shawnese, and some are yet living at Green Bay. But the Munsees have all forsaken their heathen customs, and the practices of their forefathers, and now live in the customs and practices of the Christians. Some of these that live round here are Moravians, and some that live in other places are Methodists, and some Episcopalians; but they are Munsees, let them live where they will, and all live as the Christian people do, and do not follow the heathen practices of their fathers.

“ ‘Brothers, I do not live in heathen practices, but believe in the one true God and in Jesus Christ. Me a poor Indian, me feel very poor, but me feel religion in me though very poor. Poor Indian believe that God sent his Son into this world, and that he died for all poor Indians as well as white people; and I believe He is now with God in heaven, and that He comes into our hearts by his Spirit, even poor Indians, and will be there for ever. Now me think what Christ say to his followers, I am going away to leave you, but I will come again in Spirit into your hearts, that I may be with you for ever, be where you will. And now me feel Him renewedly in my heart at this time. Brothers, I speak these things not from the tongue, but I feel what I say in my heart, though Indian a very poor creature, and like little child in these things; yet me feel the Spirit of Christ with me this morning, and feel glad to see you and to hear the good advice you have given us, and I feel my spiritual strength renewed.

“ ‘Brothers, your fathers, William Penn and others of your old men, and our old men the Munsees, lived in peace like brothers, and made the treaty under the elm-tree, and the Quakers and the Munsees have always been friends, and my heart is glad you still think about your poor Indian brethren, and come and see them; for it makes poor Indian’s heart glad when they see their Quaker brothers. Brothers, that is all I have to say now.’ ”

THE KANSAS INDIANS.

“This tribe numbers about 1600 souls. The country they claim as their own is situated on both sides of the Kansas River, commencing sixty miles west of its mouth, in lat. 38 degrees north, being thirty miles wide. The soil is fruitful and well watered, but sparingly timbered. It is well adapted to agriculture, and the climate is healthy.

“The Kansas spend a part of their time in hunting, a part in idleness, and a part in planting and cultivating small crops at home. They are irregular in their manner of living, and although not inclined to eat unwholesome food, yet from necessity they eat such as causes sickness among them. They use ardent spirits less than many other tribes, yet they are degraded and improvident to some extent by this poison; some few of them have reformed; they are more ready to receive instruction than they were formerly; but most of them are strongly inclined to hold on to their wild habits and superstitious worship. The main difficulties in teaching these Indians, are their wandering habits, and their fondness for war with other tribes. They are at home only about four months in the year. They have a smith and a teacher of agriculture furnished to them by treaty, who are to continue with them five years, and then all their stipulations with the Government will end.

“At the time of our visit the greater part of the tribe had gone on their Fall hunt, and therefore we had an opportunity of seeing but few of them.

“After we had completed our visit to the Delawares, Munsees, Stockbridges, and Kickapoos, and had seen some of the Kansas tribe, and collected such information as we deemed useful, we returned again to Friends’ school in the Shawnese nation, to prepare for our visit to the more southern tribes. The Indians understanding that we were about leaving this part of the country, numbers of them came to make known their grievances, and others to take leave of us. They represented to us that there was a prospect of the Wyandots, now living in Ohio, coming to settle on a part of their land, and that a very few of the Shawnese were favourable to such a move, but that most of them were decidedly opposed to it, and much troubled on account of it. We were not without serious apprehensions that great difficulty might yet arise from this circumstance. We rendered them such counsel as we believed might be proper for them to follow; advising them against discords, jealousies, and divisions; all of which appeared to be kindly received. An aged Shawnese chief came to us and said, he wished to have a talk with us. He said when he lived in Ohio he had a good farm and lived well, but by being removed to this country he

had become poor; that he was now gaining a little, and wanted to live where he now did, and so did all his tribe want to remain where they now are. They did not want to be moved again, but he feared they should be soon. He said he was now old and lame, and could not go further; he wanted to die and be buried here, and not go away off and die on the prairie. It made him feel very bad to think of being moved again, for it seemed like being thrown over a bank away off west of the prairie, where they would all die. He appeared much distressed on this account, and wished to know if we had heard the men at Washington talk about removing them again, remarking that he had heard that they had been talking about it. He wanted us and our friends to help them in getting the title to their lands fixed, so that his people might always live where they now are. He thought the white man ought to be satisfied, that the Indian had been removed far enough, and not move him any further. He said he was an old man and could live but a little while, and wanted to know before he died that his people and children could never be removed again. All this was spoken in a feeling and candid manner.

"After this, a chief of the Chilcathe band remarked, 'that the Indians showed mercy to the white men when they first came across the great water, and were weak, and could but just get up the bank. The Indian was then like the trees, erect and strong; the white man like the grass, easily bent and waving with the wind. The white man came to the Indian four times with his hat under his arm, and asked the Indian to have mercy on him, for he was poor and needy. White man say, when Indian is poor and needy, he would have mercy on him as long as grass grows and water runs. Indian then let him come on the land and live; he now wanted white man to remember his promise, and have mercy on the Indian, for he was poor and needy; and not remove him any further.'"

THE WEAS, PIANKESHAWS, KASKASKIAS, PEORIAS, OTTOES, AND CHIPPEWAS.

"Having completed our visit to the Indians in the Shawnese section of the country, we took leave of our kind friends at the school on the tenth of Eleventh month, and proceeded on our way about forty miles in a southwest direction to the sub-agency of A. L. Davis, in order to visit the several tribes in that vicinity. We arrived there in the evening of the same day, and made known our business to the sub-agent. He kindly entertained us, and offered to lend all the necessary aid in collecting the Indians, and also to furnish us with such information as he possessed respecting their state and condition. The day following there was an unusual fall of snow for

the season, in consequence of which but few of the Indians came to the council; yet some of the principal men of nearly all these remnants of tribes were present. The names of the several tribes are Weas, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, Peorias, Ottoes, and Chippewas, numbering in all about five hundred and fifty. These Indians are making but little improvement in agriculture or otherwise; yet most of them raise some corn and vegetables, and keep some horses, cattle, hogs, and fowls. They are but poorly prepared for carrying on farming, having no ploughs, waggons, or tools of any kind, which is cause of much discouragement to them. With the exception of a few instances, they have made but little advancement in civilization. Some of them live in poor log-houses, and some in wigwams. They generally wear the blanket, and in most respects dress like the wild Indians. They are much given to idleness, vice, and dissipation: there is no school in any of these tribes. There is one missionary among the Peorias, but none in any of the others. Like many other tribes, they are fast wasting away. Some of them are professors of Christianity, but much the larger part of them still adhere to their old traditions.

"They complain of having made a bad treaty with the General Government, and are solicitous of further assistance from that source, and say, that if their great father would send out some good white men to instruct and advise them, they would endeavour to improve from it. We encouraged them to break off from their old habits of dissipation and indolence, and to become a sober and agricultural people; holding out to them the advantages that would result from such a change. They manifested much interest in what was said to them, saying they believed it all to be true, and hoped they might follow our advice. They promised that they would tell their absent brothers what had been said to them, and advise them to mind it. They were pleased that we came so far to see them, and parted with us in a friendly manner."

THE POTAWATOMIES.

"After collecting the foregoing accounts respecting these small tribes, we left for the Potawatomie nation, situated on Potawatomie Creek, about sixty miles from the Shawnese school, and eighteen miles from A. L. Davis's agency. We arrived at the house of a man named Simmerwell, a smith employed by the General Government to repair the guns of the Indians, &c. The day being too far spent for a council with them that evening, we thought it most advisable to have notice given for a meeting with them in the morning. The smith has been for many years engaged among the Indians in repairing their guns, and otherwise assisting them; we

believed him sincerely devoted to their welfare. He lamented their deplorable condition; and, from his own personal knowledge of the facts, attributed most of their misery to the avarice and wickedness of the traders, and other corrupt white men, who, ever since his acquaintance, had been prowling about them, like the beast for his prey. Agreeably to our previous appointment, we met a number of the chiefs and head men of the nation at the house of the blacksmith. We endeavoured to impress upon their minds the importance of a change in all their habits and modes of living, and to adopt the manners and habits of good white men. They listened attentively to what was communicated to them, and expressed their gratitude to the Society of Friends, that they had thought so much of them as to send persons so far to look into their condition. One of their chiefs remarked, that their great father, the President, had promised to send them many things, but, said he, they have not yet got along.

“The person that interpreted for us is a full-blooded Indian, educated at Hamilton school, in the State of New York, and speaks and writes the English language well. He also converses freely in the Potawatomie tongue, and may be reckoned among the most intelligent Indians of the west. He is married to a half-breed woman, and possesses very considerable property. The Potawatomies are divided into three bands, viz., Potawatomies of (St.) Josephs, Potawatomies of the Wabash, and Potawatomies of the Prairie. The (St.) Josephs band formerly received some assistance from the Baptist missionaries while they were located on the (St.) Josephs River. This band live principally by cultivating the soil, and what they receive from the government by way of annuities. They are poor, and making very little advancement in civilization. They have no school nor missionary, and some of them live in poor log-cabins, others in wigwams. Most of them keep cattle, horses, and hogs; nearly all of them drink whiskey, and pass much of their time in idleness and dissipation. They spend their annuities soon after receiving them, for whiskey, and articles of no real value to them. The manners, dress, and general appearance of these Indians, do not materially differ from the small tribes located near them. They wear the blanket as the principal article of dress. Some hunt on their own lands, and in the adjacent State of Missouri, but do not go on the long hunt to the west.

“Our next visit was to the Wabash band, located about twelve miles from the gunsmith’s. There are about six hundred of this tribe, comprising about one-third of the nation, who are principally settled in one neighbourhood. They are under the direction and control of the Roman Catholics, and have three Jesuit priests amongst them, who are educating forty or fifty Indian children. Their school is divided into two departments, one for boys and the other for girls. The one for girls is said to

be doing some good, the other is in a languishing state. This band are building comfortable log-houses, and cultivating the land, and have some cattle, horses, hogs, &c. ; but their location is said to be unhealthy, and they are addicted to all the vices and immoralities common to the Indians, and are fast wasting away. Their numbers have greatly diminished within the last few years.

"The Prairie band are interspersed among the other two bands, and live much after the same manner. The whiskey sellers, and other traders, practice the same impositions upon these Indians that they do upon all the other tribes within their reach."

THE OSAGE INDIANS.

"Understanding that these Indians were out on their Fall hunt, and that we should not have an opportunity of seeing many of them, and their principal village being distant about forty miles from the Potawatomes, we did not visit them, but had an opportunity of seeing a few of the tribe, and from good authority gathered the following account respecting them. This tribe is located about one hundred miles south of the Shawnese nation, bordering on the State of Missouri. They were once very numerous, but at this time number only about five thousand, and are fast diminishing, in consequence of their roving and intemperate habits. They are more like the wild Indians of the Rocky Mountains than any other tribe on the frontiers: they are great hunters of buffaloes and furs, and the fur traders depend more upon them for buffalo robes and furs, than upon any other tribe of the south-western frontier. This circumstance operates as one of the principal causes of their small advancement in civilization.

"Much labour has been bestowed within twenty years, by the Presbyterian missionaries from New York and Boston, to improve their condition, but it was attended with little success, owing, as it is said, to the prejudices against the missionaries in the minds of the Indians, arising from the influence of the fur traders. This influence remains to the present day, and there appears to be no prospect of improvement among them while this state of things exists. The traders discourage them from following agricultural pursuits, telling them they do not want to buy corn or cattle, but buffalo-skins and furs; thus prompting them to keep up the chase. They also advise them not to have schools, or any religious instruction among them; hence there are no schools or missionaries among them at this time. We were informed, by apparently good authority, that the Indian agents combine with the agents of the Fur Company, and control the manner of paying out the annuities to the Indians, by which the agents of the company are enabled to monopolize the whole trade with them. It is

said, they first take all their annuity money, and deduct their charges against the Indians, and for the balance, give to each man as many cents with a particular mark upon them as there were dollars due to them, promising to pay him as many dollars in goods as he had cents; thus compelling the Indian to purchase all his goods of them at an exorbitant price. There was recently a large amount of appropriation paid to this tribe in cattle, swine, and agricultural implements. The Indians not being acquainted with the use of them, and having no one furnished to teach them, soon sold and gave away all their ploughs, killed the cattle and swine, and the whole plan was frustrated.

"The Osages are a stately race; the men are exceedingly large and tall, but the women are short, and, like the females of the Winnebago tribe, appear dejected. They dress altogether like the wild Indians."

THE SENECA AND SHAWNESE INDIANS.

"After leaving the Osage nation, we travelled south towards the Cherokees, and visited on our way the united tribe of the Seneca and Shawnese Indians. We lodged with one Jackson, a half-breed. In the morning after our arrival, he sent for some of the principal men to meet us at his house, with whom we held a council. We gave them such advice as, in our opinion, was needful. They appeared friendly, and listened attentively to what we had to say to them. We spoke to them through Jackson, who interpreted for us. They made no reply to us, as he was not sufficiently acquainted with our language to render theirs into it. We learned that the greater part of these Indians were raising some corn and domestic animals, and have pretty comfortable log-cabins; and some few of them are adopting the habits of the whites in various respects, such as laying aside the blanket as an article of dress, putting on pantaloons instead of leggins, &c. They have no schools among them, and none of their children are receiving an education out of the nation, excepting two of Jackson's.

"After visiting the Senecas and Shawnese, we rode sixteen miles to the house of Daniel Adams, a Mohawk Indian, residing in the Seneca nation. The tribe located at this place is styled the Sandusky Senecas. Daniel Adams is a man of tolerable education, and speaks and writes both the English and the Indian language. He is married to a Stockbridge woman formerly from the State of New York. She informed us that when a girl she spent four years on Long Island, where she was educated at a Friends' school. She retains a grateful remembrance of the many kindnesses that were shown to her by Friends in those parts, the names of some of whom

she mentioned. Her appearance was greatly superior to any Indian woman we saw while on our journey; her whole conduct and conversation were dignified. She was easy in her manners, and conversed understandingly upon a variety of subjects, but more especially upon what related to her friends, the Indians in the State of New York. She manifested a deep interest in the treaty lately made with the Seneca Indians there. This woman and her husband are both professors of the Christian religion, and from appearances, were honestly engaged in the discharge of their social, moral, and religious duties. They had a family of three small children, who were clothed in the style of the whites, and taught in the English language altogether. They reside in a good frame-house, newly built and well furnished. Their manner of living was superior to that of the generality of whites in the west. They spoke freely of the low state and condition of their people, and the strong prejudices existing in their minds against the whites, and of the difficulty of overcoming these prejudices, in consequence of the ill-treatment they had, in too many instances, received from them.

“There is, at this time, no school nor religious institution in this tribe. A few of them profess the Christian religion and have joined themselves to some of the different religious sects; but the greater part of them still adhere to their former views and superstitious worship. Nearly all of them are engaged in agricultural pursuits in a small way, and keep various kinds of domestic animals. We did not learn that any of this small tribe keep sheep, or manufacture cloth of any kind. Their principal food is pork and deer, wild fowl, corn-bread, potatoes, and other vegetables. Some of them have laid aside the blanket as an article of dress, but the greater part attire themselves in the Indian style, and in no important particular differ from the other tribes that have been removed from the east. They are said to be very immoral in their conduct among the neighbouring whites. They are very unwilling to receive white men among them as teachers, but would not object to having their children instructed in English by persons of their own cast, if those suitably qualified could be procured. They are located upon a small tract of land west of the State of Missouri, on the Niosho River, bordering on the Cherokee nation, and numbered, at the time of their removal, two hundred and fifty-one, but have since diminished.

THE CHEROKEE INDIANS.

“This large tribe is settled on lands lying west of the State of Arkansas and bordering on the Arkansas River, and number about twenty thousand

souls. It is thought they have diminished in number since their removal west. The history of this nation is generally known to the public; therefore it may not be expected that we should be so particular in our account of them. We entered upon the north-east corner of their lands, and travelled south to their council-ground, near Park Hill. Some of their lands bordering on the west line of Arkansas are hilly and well watered and timbered, but not well adapted to agriculture; in other parts it is level and fertile. The Cherokees live principally by farming. They raise neat cattle, horses, and other domestic animals, and keep an abundance of poultry. Some of the nation are extensive farmers and planters. Cotton is grown in the southern part of the nation, where most, if not all, who are able, keep slaves to cultivate the land, and to do the work in the houses, &c. The manners and customs of this portion of their community, do not differ materially from those of the white planters in the south and west. Their style of dress and mode of living are also very similar. A few of the Cherokees are large slave-holders. Their laws for the government of their slaves are similar to those in the Slave States. The slaves frequently desert their masters and run away. Some cotton and woollen goods are manufactured by the Cherokees for domestic use. We saw a number of good dwelling-houses as we passed through their country, but most of them reside in small log-cabins. They have more generally adopted the manners of the whites than any other tribe we met with. While passing along, we frequently saw white men who were married to Indian women, and in some instances an Indian man was connected by marriage to a white woman. There is less similarity in the general appearance of the Cherokees than in that of any other tribe. They are divided into three distinct classes. First, those that are pretty well civilized and appear intelligent. Second, those who may be reckoned among the half-civilized or apprentices in civilization. Third, those that have made but little improvement in their dress and manners: the last class is most numerous. They are cultivators of the soil, and have generally given up hunting, but are dissipated.

“The Cherokees have a number of missionaries and native preachers among them, and about two hundred profess the Christian religion, and have joined themselves either to the Presbyterian, Baptist or Methodist societies. They have thirteen schools in the nation, where all the children attending them are taught in the English language. These schools are represented to be in a flourishing condition, and in their general features are similar to our district schools in New England. Many of this tribe manifest an interest for the welfare of their children, and the rising generation, and have recently made very considerable appropriations, in order to extend more generally the benefits of

education and civilization among them. They have a printing-press in the nation, where they have their laws and public documents printed both in English and in the Cherokee language.

"We arrived at the council-ground at a time when their National Council was in session. Their government is divided into three departments, viz., the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial. They style the head of the executive department, principal chief. Their legislative department is divided into a committee and council. The Judiciary is composed of a Superior Court and inferior or Circuit Court. John Ross is now, and has been for many years, the head chief of the nation. Their committee and council consist of fifteen members, each elected by the people. All laws are enacted by the legislature and signed by the principal chief. Their Supreme Court is composed of five judges. At the head of this court is Jesse Bushyhead, an interesting and intelligent man, a half-blood Indian and a Baptist preacher.

"We were introduced to all the members of the several departments of government, from whom we received many kind attentions; and had an opportunity of witnessing their manner of transacting business, which, although simple and plain, was nevertheless very much to the point. The whole nation, or at least as many as wished to assemble, was one day while we were there, collected together, to hear the annual message of the principal chief, and the report of the delegation that was sent to Washington the last winter to transact some business with the General Government. The report embraced all their correspondence with the President and Secretary of War; and that and the message were drawn up with ability.

"We witnessed nothing like a spirit of hostility on the part of these Indians towards the Government of the United States; and yet they have not forgotten the wrongs that have been practised upon them by the whites. It affords them some relief when they can meet with persons who are willing to sympathize with them in the sad tale of their sufferings and miseries. By accounts from persons of unimpeachable veracity who were eye-witnesses of some of the horrid scenes which occurred before and at the time of their removal, we were led to think the half had never met the public eye. They treated us with kindness and much attention while we were in the nation; and although they have not had much acquaintance with members of our own religious society until recently, yet they looked upon them as their friends, and spoke with grateful hearts of the benevolent and Christian interposition of Friends in a great many instances on behalf of the red man. Much might be said respecting the advancement of this tribe in civilization, &c., but we will conclude by saying that our hearts were made to feel deeply for them, and to put up our feeble petitions to

the Father of all our sure mercies, that he might yet smile upon this stripped and peeled people, and awaken them under a sense of the mercies extended to them, to a feeling of their own obligation to deal justly and show mercy and kindness to those poor descendants of the African race who are held in bondage by them.

“A band of the Seminole Indians, lately from Florida, were temporarily settled upon the Cherokees’ land, near the council-ground, at the head of which were two chiefs, by the names of Wild Cat and Alligator, who were noted men in the late Florida war. We held two councils with these chiefs, at one of which came about twenty of their principal men. Wild Cat and Alligator made many bitter complaints of the ill-treatment of the white men, both before and since their removal. We feared there might be an outbreak by Wild Cat and his party in their present excited state. It was expected that the agents would soon remove them from the Cherokee country to lands provided for them by the General Government, in the Creek nation; at which Wild Cat and Alligator appeared much offended. We conversed with several of the agents and officers of the General Government, and desired them to consider their peculiar dispositions, and use all conciliatory means in their power in the removal of these unhappy beings. We also endeavoured to persuade these Indians to live peaceably with their neighbours, and to break off from their old habits and become farmers, like the Cherokees and other Indians around them. They are much given to drunkenness, stealing, and other vices, and live like wild Indians. They formerly belonged to the Creek nation, and now speak the Creek language. Some of them hold slaves, who serve for interpreters and servants to them.”

THE CREEK INDIANS.

“We next visited the Creek nation. They are situated south of the Cherokees, on lands bordering on the Verdigris River, and number about fifteen thousand Indians, and three or four thousand slaves. We had an interview with Benjamin Marshall, a very intelligent man, and one of the most wealthy and influential men in the nation. He informed us that every family in the Creek nation would raise produce enough the present season to supply their wants throughout the year. They are fast improving in agriculture and domestic manufactures, and in their manner of living. They expect soon to manufacture all the material for their own clothing. Many of them live in comfortable houses, and dress like the white people; but others still wear the blanket, and are much given to dissipation. They have of late become anxious that their children should be educated, provided it could be done in their own nation; but are generally averse to

sending them abroad for this purpose. They have made application to our Government for their school-fund to be appropriated to education in their nation, instead of being spent at the Choctaw Academy, as heretofore. They have at this time but one school, which is continued throughout the year.

“ They have lately passed severe laws to prohibit the vending of ardent spirits among them, which took effect about six months ago, and those who had been opposed to the laws have seen the good effects of them and become satisfied. Many of the slaves and Indians appear sober and religious. Some of the slaves are approved preachers, and hold meetings regularly on first-days. We attended one of these meetings, which was conducted in a moderate and becoming manner. It was composed of Indians and their slaves; their minister was an uneducated slave. All seemed interested in the meeting, and several much affected, even to tears. A slaveholder told us, that he was willing his slaves should go to these meetings, for it made them better men and women. The Creeks have long been slave-holders, and appear insensible on the subject of this great evil. Their laws respecting their slaves and the government of their tribe, are similar to those of the Cherokees and Choctaws. Their country is good for agriculture, well watered and timbered, and we believe this nation would soon become a prosperous and flourishing people, were it not for the injustice and destructive influence of slavery within and around their borders. A few days previous to our arriving there, about two hundred slaves ran away from their masters. They belonged to the Creek and Cherokee nations. This caused much excitement, and a posse was sent after them from both nations. Both church and state seemed aroused on account of these desertions, and ready to make every possible effort to recover them at all hazards, and in future to enact more rigid laws for the government of their slaves, and for binding their chains more strongly upon them.”

THE CHOCTAW INDIANS.

“ Fifth day of the week, and first of Twelfth month, 1842. After having finished our visit to the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles, we hired a private conveyance to Fort Smith, on the border of the Choctaw nation. We then took horses, and rode fifteen miles to the Choctaw agency, the greater part of the way through a dense cane-swamp, and put up at a tavern kept by an Indian woman. In the evening we had some conversation with a young Indian who had been educated at the Choctaw Academy, in Kentucky. He was at this time engaged as a clerk in a store, and appeared intelligent and bright. The account he gave of the academy was

not very flattering. We learned while in the nation, that at the council lately held on Red River, the Choctaws resolved not to have anything more to do with that school. Their annual council was in session near Red River, where the greater part of the Choctaws reside. Many of the Indians near Red River are said to live well; they keep slaves and raise cotton for their own consumption and for market. They also raise corn, wheat, potatoes, and other vegetables, and keep large stocks of neat cattle, horses, and swine; and a few of them have sheep, and make some cotton and woollen goods for their slaves and for themselves. They have in general comfortable log-houses, and live like the new settlers in the west.

"They have six or eight schools in the nation, in which the primary branches of an English education are taught; but a small portion of the children, however, are receiving any education at schools, either in or out of the nation. We were informed, that the council now in session have resolved to establish two manual-labour schools on an extensive plan. One of them is to be located on the Red River, and the other at Fort Coffee, on the Arkansas River. One important feature in the plan about to be adopted by them is, that the female children of the nation are to be educated at a place several miles distant from the male children. They have appropriated eighteen thousand dollars towards the support of these schools. It was reported that the Methodists were expecting to have the control of the one at Fort Coffee. We visited one of their primary schools taught by a man from South Carolina, which consisted of about twenty scholars. We were pleased with the appearance of it, and thought the teacher was doing well for the scholars. He informed us that he had been engaged in this school since 1836, and had a salary of eight hundred and fifty dollars per annum, paid by the General Government, according to treaty stipulation.

"The country owned by the Choctaws extends from the Arkansas to Red River, and is generally fertile and well adapted to the growth of cotton, corn, wheat and potatoes. Some of these Indians have embraced Christianity, but the greater part still adhere to their old traditions. Some have become temperate, but dissipation, idleness, and their kindred vices, are very prevalent among most of them. The government and civil policy of this nation, are similar to those of the Cherokees, heretofore described. We saw a few of the Chickasaws, but ascertaining that there was no material difference between these Indians and the Choctaws, we did not consider it important for us to make a special visit to them. They are settled on the Choctaws' land, and speak the same language and intermarry with them."

GENERAL REMARKS.

“ After having spent several months in travelling among the Indians located on our western frontier, and having used our utmost endeavours to gather such facts and information as we apprehended might be useful or interesting to our Society and the community at large, we deem it right to submit a few general remarks touching the most prominent points, for the future consideration and action of Friends, on behalf of the aborigines of our land.

“ During our visit among the Indians, many circumstances were apparent, which, in our opinion, tended to prevent their advancement in civilization, and to retard their moral and religious improvement. We are aware that much labour and property are expended yearly on their account, and yet it is sad to relate, that these poor, benighted, and almost friendless beings, are daily diminishing in numbers, and in many instances sinking deeper and deeper in misery and woe. There are but few to look into their wants, or to raise a voice against the malpractices of the numerous unprincipled white men who infest their country, in order to obtain the money annually paid to them, and at the same time are practising the most degrading and immoral conduct.

“ If the hand of the destroyer is not speedily arrested, in all human probability, it will be but a few years before this once numerous race will be numbered with the nations that are not. Nearly all the tribes are decreasing yearly, and some of them at the rapid rate of from twelve to twenty per cent. The present condition of the elder part of the uncivilized tribes is such (having long been a prey to uncivilized white men), that we cannot look for much change for the better in many of them : but in beholding the younger men and women and the little children, who appear to be endowed with talents for improvement equal to the whites, we were encouraged to

look forward with a hope of better days for this poor, degraded, and almost friendless people, if the Christian community should without delay use their influence to remove the prominent obstacles now in the way of their civilization.

“We would remark in the first place, that the Indians who have been removed from the east to the west side of the Mississippi River, appear to be in an unsettled state, and to entertain fears of being again removed. They say they have as yet received no guarantee from Government that they shall remain on these lands any longer than it may suit the convenience of the whites; and some of them are desirous that Friends and others interested in their welfare, should use their influence to have their lands secured to them in fee-simple for ever, that their fears on that account may be quieted, and they encouraged to lay up something for themselves and their children.

“In the next place, nearly all the tribes have annuities paid them in goods or money, quite sufficient in most cases to make them comfortable during the year, if rightly applied. Each tribe receives all their money at one payment, and this money passes from them in a few days, and in most instances the poor ignorant Indian has nothing of value to show for it, but is, in fact, made more miserable on account of it, from its misapplication.

“We would suggest the propriety of endeavouring to bring about a change in the manner in which these payments are made, so as to place their money, if possible, out of the reach of avaricious and unprincipled men. We are aware, that to effect such a change might be attended with difficulties, but the good that would arise to the Indians would warrant some sacrifice to effect so desirable an object. The Indians, in their present state, are very improvident, and in most cases incapable of managing their affairs and expending their money to advantage. We would not hold out to the public that they are receiving more than their due, but inasmuch as the Government consider them as their wards, they should extend

their guardianship still further, and not leave them as much exposed as they now are.

“The Indians appear not in general to be governed by moral or religious principles, and every means is used to place before them such things as will entice their appetites and passions, and having little to restrain them, they fall an easy prey to temptation, and the work of destruction goes on while they are possessed of any thing that is valuable, or have any credit left. We consider their annuities justly due to them, and would be far from proposing any thing that would divert them from being used for their benefit : but we believe it to be very desirable that more effectual measures be adopted to have them disbursed in a manner that will tend, as far as practicable, to the real advantage of the poor Indians. Another great source of immorality and misery is their near location to the military posts. While the ostensible object of these fortifications is to guard the Indians on the frontier from being harmed by the wild tribes, and to prevent hostilities between them and the frontier settlers, the licentiousness hence resulting in many of the tribes is too gross to be mentioned ; the effect of which is, to destroy the morals of many of the whites, and to entail wretchedness, misery, and death, on the Indians.

“In regard to their farming operations, we would remark, that the manner in which Government in some instances expends the Indian appropriations for agriculture, is to prepare and carry on a farm at a suitable place on the land owned by the tribe, as a pattern or sample farm. This manner of farming is attended with considerable expense, and with but little apparent advantage to the Indians, they being much like children that cannot set themselves to work, but might be directed therein, if they had for a few years suitable instructors, not only to show them how, but also to help them to do the work. Therefore we believe that to ensure success, it would be important to employ persons to give general and constant assistance to each Indian in the management of his

particular lot. One man could assist twenty or more persons, and it would be desirable that some of these should be married men, whose wives might be employed to instruct the women in the various branches of housewifery; for we think much more may be expected from the improvement of the women than from that of the men; the women being more immediately associated with the children, and much better acquainted with habits of industry. This mode of instruction would not be attended with much more expense than the pattern-farm system.

“Those Indians who live in wigwams are much inclined to rove; and it is not uncommon for them to remove several times during the summer. On this account, it seems very important that they should be encouraged to abandon the wigwam altogether, and to live in houses and have lots attached to them—well enclosed, so that an individual interest might be excited, instead of having things in common, as they now do; for unless such an interest can be raised among them, it will be difficult to make much improvement in many of the tribes.

“We would also give a few hints upon education. The Indians being so generally prejudiced against the white people, are very much averse to their children being educated by them, either in or out of their nation; and boys who have been educated *abroad*, are treated with much neglect when they return home; and having no opportunity to apply their education, either among their own people or the whites, they soon become discouraged, and in order to initiate themselves again into favour with their tribe, return to the habits and practices of uncivilized life. We regretted that there were no educated Indians employed as teachers or assistants in any of the tribes, white people supplying such places entirely. Much advantage, we believe, might arise in many respects both to parents and children, by encouraging native teachers and assistants; and we would suggest that special care be taken to bring about so desirable an object.

"Having compiled the foregoing statement of facts from extended notes, taken during the course of our journey, which occupied us from the latter part of the Eighth month to the last of the year 1842, during which we were partakers of many mercies and preservations, we submit it to the consideration and disposal of our dear friends of the committees of New-England and New-York Yearly Meetings.

Signed,

"JOHN D. LANG,
SAMUEL TAYLOR, JUN."

"*Fourth Month, 19th, 1843.*"

The Meeting for Sufferings of the Yearly Meetings of New York and New England, subsequently to the publication of the foregoing report, prepared the following Memorial to Congress on behalf of the Indians west of the Mississippi, the presentation of which was committed to a joint committee of these meetings, who intended in the early part of the present year to proceed to Washington for this purpose.

"TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

"The Memorial of the Representatives of the Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends for New England and New York respectfully sheweth, That the Society aforesaid, from a sincere desire to promote the best interests of the aborigines of our country, believe it to be their duty to call the attention of the General Government to some of the circumstances attendant upon their present situation.

"Your Memorialists have long been religiously engaged for the welfare of this interesting and suffering people; and they think it right to inform you that they have, during the past year, received, through two of their friends who visited many of the tribes situate west of the Mississippi, a statement of facts, which they have caused to be published, copies of which are herewith presented you, and by which you will perceive that there are several subjects of painful interest that, we apprehend, demand the serious deliberation and action of Congress.

"1st. It is evident that ardent spirits are illegally and extensively introduced among them, and are producing the most demoralizing and destructive effects.

"2nd. That the annuities paid to them by Government, under the present arrangements, are productive of very little benefit, from the impositions practised by unprincipled and avaricious white men, who soon obtain possession of most, or all of the money thus paid them, without rendering a just equivalent therefor.

"3rd. That agriculture and the arts generally are, at present, but little attended to, and that the Indians greatly need proper direction and assistance therein from suitable persons to be located amongst them.

"4th. That the system of education now pursued might be materially improved and extended, especially among the females; and the introduction of native teachers, educated among themselves, when they can be obtained, against whom fewer prejudices might exist, would tend to promote this result.

"5th. We are also induced to call your attention to an apprehension that exists with many of them, that they may be again removed from the places where they are now located, producing a state of distrust, not only unfavourable to their agricultural improvements, but evidently fruitful in many other evil consequences; and your memorialists would respectfully suggest, that a remedy would be found in a more perfect assurance from the Government of permanency in their present homes, and by their receiving a full and adequate guarantee of the title to their lands, where this may not already have been given, and for which many of them are anxiously looking.

"We take the liberty to refer you to the published statement before alluded to, and to the practical suggestions therein contained; and while we are aware that many salutary laws have been enacted by Congress for the preservation of the rights, and the promotion of the interests of the Indians, we would respectfully solicit you to ascertain how far those laws and treaty stipulations have been carried into effect, and also what further provisions may be instituted to remove existing abuses, and promote the welfare of these sons of the forest, many of whom place their hopes of redress with a degree of filial feeling on the President, and other constituted authorities of the Government.

"We are persuaded that He who 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' will regard propitiously the paternal care that may be extended to this much-injured and suffering class of our fellow-men, and will bless those measures that may be adopted and faithfully executed for their benefit."

PART IV.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LABOURS OF FRIENDS OF NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING ON BEHALF OF THE INDIANS, FROM THE YEAR 1843.

WE are not possessed of information relating to the labours of our brethren of this Yearly Meeting on behalf of the Indians prior to the year 1821, although we cannot doubt but that many of them had been previously individually engaged in promoting the good of the primitive races of their district. In that year the attention of the Yearly Meeting was seriously drawn to the subject, when it issued several minutes on the occasion, which we subjoin.

“ Yearly Meeting, 6th month 12, 1821. It appearing by the reading of the Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, that the Governor of the State of Maine* has manifested a desire for the amelioration and civilization of a tribe of Indian natives within that state, and has made application to a member of this meeting, with a view to the Society of Friends participating in that object, we appoint to take the subject into consideration, and report at a future sitting.

“ 13th. The committee appointed at our last sitting, on the subject of an extension of the care of Friends to a tribe of Indian natives in the State of Maine, made the following report:

“ The committee respecting the Penobscot Indians have

* Maine had then been recently erected into a state, having heretofore formed a part of Massachusetts, and the Governor had appointed two members of our society as agents for the Indians, in their transactions with the Government of the State, including the disbursements of certain annuities, &c.

attended to that appointment, and are united in proposing to the Yearly Meeting the appointment of a committee to make inquiry into their situation, in order more fully to ascertain whether, and in what manner, this meeting can be of service in extending to those natives the means of civilization and improvement." "Which having claimed the attention of Friends, led to an expression of feeling for them in their present situation, and are appointed in accordance with the Report for the objects therein specified; in which service they are requested to desire the aid of Friends, who are agents for said natives, under appointment from the Government of Maine — and report at our next Yearly Meeting."

The Committee thus appointed, in order to carry out the views of the Yearly Meeting, proceeded early to visit the Indians referred to in the foregoing minute, and at the succeeding Yearly Meeting reported as follows.

INDIAN REPORT, 1822.

"The Committee report, that in conjunction with S. F. H. and J. D. (agents of the State of Maine), in order to fulfil our appointment relative to the Penobscot tribe of Indians, in the ninth month last, they went on to the Penobscot River; commenced our visit at Old Town Island, twelve miles above Bangor; thence visited all their settlements on their line of Islands: (the soil of which is of the best quality), to Passadunky, a distance of twenty-two miles; went into most of their cabins; had conversation with their families: then returned to Old Town, and, by previous arrangement, had an interview with their Lieutenant-Governor (so styled by them), John Neptune, and a number of their chiefs, together with some of their principal women; in all which we endeavoured to impress their minds with the object of our mission, by stating the advantages that would result to them, could they be induced to turn their attention more to farming and a civilized life; pointing out to them the means by which it might be carried into effect; to which they listened with attention, and appeared fully to concur with us; as from the failure of their fisheries and hunting, they appeared to be convinced of the necessity of a change of their mode of acquiring subsistence, and manifested a degree of thankfulness and gratitude for the care they extended towards them. Yet there are many obstacles opposed to their being brought to a civilized state; their at-

tachment to their original savage habits, from which they have but very little departed; their great aversion to agricultural labour; and their thirst for ardent spirits—all contribute to render the prospect discouraging, and the matter of civilization almost hopeless, or at least a work of time, labour, and expense; yet, every circumstance considered, we are led to doubt the propriety of relinquishing the object until further experiment be made.”

After some investigation of the subject in the meeting at large, it was referred to a committee for further consideration.*

At a subsequent sitting, the committee to which the subject had been referred, recommended the appointment of a standing committee to extend care towards the Penobscot tribe of Indians, and give them advice and assistance in order to promote their civilization, and a due appropriation of their own resources to the comforts of domestic life.—The suggestion was united with—and a committee was appointed accordingly, to act on behalf of the meeting, and to report to the next Yearly Meeting their progress and views of future usefulness in the continuance of the work.

During the year 1822, in pursuance of the object of their appointment, the committee paid another visit to the Penobscot Indians, and gave them “such advice as way opened for.” “Although,” say the committee, in their report of 1823, “there are difficulties to encounter in promoting an improvement of the condition of this neglected, but interesting class of our fellow-creatures, we had the satisfaction to believe that the prejudice of which they were possessed, and which seemed to arise from a fear that our views were mercenary, had much subsided, and a friendly disposition had taken place; in confirmation of which we have since received information from two of the chiefs, that the whole tribe (which consists of about three hundred persons) had been consulted, and that they agree to attend to our advice, turn their attention more to the cultivation of

* The whole number of individuals in the tribe is stated at 284. Number of children under ten years, 91. Number of persons over ten and under twenty years, 51.

their lands, and endeavour to procure a living more from farming than heretofore ; and, thanking Friends for what they have done, would be glad of future advice."

The exertions of Friends in this part of the Union, for Indian improvement, were not, it appears, confined to the Penobscots; other tribes residing in their vicinity having subsequently been partakers of their Christian care and benevolence. Occasional notices of this interesting engagement occur in the epistolary correspondence of this Yearly Meeting with our own, from which we extract the following:

1827. "We are still concerned for the welfare of some of the Indian tribes, and the report of our committee, which has the special charge of this important subject, furnishes the satisfactory information that in one of the tribes under our care, an improvement in husbandry and in moral conduct, more especially in regard to temperance, is very obvious."

1835. "Our concern to aid by our advice and assistance the Penobscot tribe of Indians, in their endeavours to procure for themselves the comforts and advantages of civilized life, is still continued, and by the report of our committee to promote these objects, it appears that some progress is making in this desirable work; and that some new and interesting features in regard to the management of the concerns of the tribe have recently been adopted by the legislature of the State of Maine, within whose limits they are situated; particularly a provision, for the possession by them of individual property, in the improvement of their lands, and the establishment within the tribe of an asylum for the aged and infirm, and for orphan children. These features are in accordance with the views of Friends, and encourage us to continue our endeavours for their improvement."

Although Friends were not unmindful of the spiritual interests of these people, yet from the circumstance of their being very much under the control of the Roman Catholics, whose peculiar tenets they had imbibed, there was not the

same freedom for conveying Christian counsel and instruction to them, as for promoting their civilization and for assisting them to make a more profitable use of their lands. The territory of the Penobscots consists of a chain of one hundred and forty-six Islands, in the river which bears their name, well adapted for agriculture, and containing altogether four thousand four hundred and eighty-one acres. In addition to this they have annuities to the amount of nearly six thousand dollars, for lands ceded by them to the State of Maine.

With a view to encourage these Indians in the erection of comfortable dwellings, whenever they were about to build, Friends made them presents of glass, nails, and other materials necessary for their construction. In the report of 1836 the committee say, "that the Penobscot tribe possesses about thirty framed dwelling-houses, some of them well finished and painted."

It is notorious that from the desolating influence of vices, many of which have been introduced or fostered by Europeans, most of the tribes in North America, who have had intercourse with the whites, have gradually lessened in numbers; and that several once powerful tribes have become extinct. The Christian philanthropist must therefore dwell with peculiar pleasure on the few rare and interesting exceptions to these woeful devastations of human life. Among these instances we may class the tribe of Penobscot Indians, whose numbers, since they first came under the notice of New England Yearly Meeting, have increased full fifty per cent. In this tribe,

In 1821 there were . . . families, comprising 284 individuals.

1837	„	102	ditto	ditto	391	ditto
1838	„	105	ditto	ditto	402	ditto
1839	„	110	ditto	ditto	441	ditto.

The causes assigned for this increase of population are — "their comparatively temperate habits, their more comfortable dwellings, and their progressive advancement in civilization."

In addition to labours within their own limits, this Yearly Meeting in 1839 united in the proposal from New York

Yearly Meeting, already noticed, to co-operate in rendering some assistance to the Indian tribes located west of the Mississippi. Their epistle of 1842 to our Yearly Meeting thus refers to these interesting topics. "A concern for the aborigines of our country has for many years been prevalent with us, under which we have extended some care to the Penobscot tribe of Indians within our limits; and the report of our committee at this time has been very encouraging, indicating a gradual improvement among them, and some increase of their numbers. To the Passamaquaddy tribe we have also, during the past year, extended some attention, and we believe there is an opening to do them good. And with a view to inquire into the situation and habits of the various tribes located west of the Mississippi river, we have, in conjunction with our brethren of New York Yearly Meeting, encouraged two of our beloved friends, who, from an apprehension of religious duty, have been made willing to yield themselves to the service—to make them a visit—to render them such advice as way may open for, and to ascertain in what manner we may be instrumental in doing them good."

As the information of a later date, respecting the joint concern of this and New York Yearly Meeting is included under the head of the last mentioned Yearly Meeting, it will be needless for us to repeat it in this division of the work. The Passamaquaddy tribe referred to, reside on the south-eastern border of the state of Maine. They are represented as more roving in their habits than the Penobscots, and consequently as having made less improvement in their lands. Like them they are Roman Catholics. Their population, which is said to be slowly on the increase, is computed to be rather above four hundred persons. They are generally temperate; and it was stated by their chief to a Friend who was with them about two years since, that he knew of but three individuals of the tribe who used intoxicating drink.

Of the importance of introducing education among these Indians, "Friends," says our New England correspondent, "have not been unmindful, and something has been effected in this respect; but many obstacles have prevented the instruction of the children in the elementary branches of an English education, to the extent that would have been desirable. These Indians are strongly attached to the Roman Catholic religion, and the priest, who has resided among them the greater part of the time since Friends first commenced their attempts to benefit the tribe, has been unfavourable to the establishment of schools taught by Protestants; and when he has attempted to instruct the children himself, has not been very successful. The difficulty of securing their steady attendance at school, when way has opened for the establishment of one at their principal settlement, has also stood much in the way of their improvement. Another difficulty has been found in the circumstance that the children, when quite young, understand no other language than the native one of their parents. But notwithstanding all these obstructions, the children have evinced, when placed under favourable circumstances for its development, a good capacity for improvement in literary pursuits."

PART V.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LABOURS OF MARYLAND, OHIO, AND INDIANA YEARLY MEETINGS ON BEHALF OF THE INDIANS, FROM THE YEAR 1795 TO THE YEAR 1843.

IN taking a survey of the proceedings of the Yearly Meetings of Maryland, Ohio, and Indiana, for ameliorating the condition of the Indian races within their borders, it will, perhaps, be best for us to state, in the commencement, the fact, that Ohio and Indiana Yearly Meetings, though now both large, are, nevertheless, of comparatively recent formation, the former having been established in the year 1813, and the latter in the year 1821, which will fully account for the absence of any notice of labours among the Indians on their part, prior to these periods.

The war which had for years been carried on between the United States and the Indians, had long proved an obstruction to the labours of Friends. By the treaty made at Greenville in 1795, the horrors and devastations of this unhappy conflict were brought to a close, and peace between the Indians and the United States again restored. Way was thus opened for a friendly intercourse with the Indians; and our Friends of Maryland seem to have lost no time in taking advantage of it, the date of the peace and the appointment of their committee on Indian affairs being in the same year.

An account of the proceedings of Maryland Yearly Meeting in this work, published by its committee in 1805, in reference to the origin of the concern, says, "A weighty concern having been opened in the year 1795 in our Yearly Meeting, respecting the difficulties and distresses to which the Indian natives of this land were subject, it obtained the serious attention of Friends, and many observations were

made relative to the kindness of their ancestors to ours in the early settlement of this country, exciting to a deep consideration and inquiry, whether, under the influence of that exalted benevolence and good-will to men, which our holy profession inculcates, there was not something for us, as a Society, to do for them towards promoting their religious instruction, knowledge of agriculture, and useful mechanic arts." The meeting being thus brought under an exercise of mind on account of the neglected situation of the Aborigines of that continent, proceeded to recommend to its subordinate meetings the opening of a subscription for their relief, and the appointment of a committee to give such attention to the concern as they might be enabled to render.

This committee early proceeded to give close attention to the subject committed to them; and in order to make themselves acquainted with the situation and disposition of the Indians, in the following year appointed a deputation of their number to visit them, and to inform them of the benevolent views which Friends entertained towards them. The visit of these Friends did not, it appears, accomplish what was thus aimed at, on account of the great difficulty which they experienced in meeting with the Indians. They, however, "saw divers hunters and others," who appeared to be well disposed to receive the instruction and assistance which Friends proposed to furnish them." The locality of the Indian nations to which Friends of Maryland directed their attention, lay further west than that of those under the care of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, being situated in the extensive region which is comprehended between the rivers Ohio and Mississippi, and bounded on the north by the lakes Superior, Huron, and Erie.

The committee being still deficient in the information necessary to enable them to proceed with safety in their important engagement, again visited the Indians in the year 1797. Respecting this visit, they say, that "having passed by a number of their hunting-camps, and several of their towns,

they had large opportunity of discovering their situation; often exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, with a very precarious, and often a very scanty supply of food and clothing, they suffered all the miseries of extreme poverty, in a country which, from its great fertility, would, with but little cultivation, abundantly supply them with all the necessities of life." The Friends who undertook this laborious visit, saw some of the chiefs of the Wyandot and Delaware nations, who appeared to give much attention to what was laid before them, and who promised to lay the same before their grand council. During the year 1798, no progress was made in the concern, except some partial assistance in tools and implements of husbandry, and other assistance to a few Indian families, were furnished to them. In the succeeding year the committee received a speech from the principal chief of the Wyandot nation, of which the following is an extract, viz. :—

"Brethren Quakers,

"You remember that we once met at a certain place. When we had there met, a great many good things were said, and much friendship was professed between us. Brothers, you told us at that time, that you not only took us by the *hand*, but that you held us fast by the *arm*; that you there formed a chain of friendship. You said that it was not a chain of iron, but that it was a chain of silver, that would never get rusty; and that this chain would bind us in brotherly affection for ever.

"Brethren, listen. We have often heard that you were a good and faithful people, ever ready to do justice and good to all men, without distinction of colour; therefore we love you the more sincerely, because of the goodness of your hearts, which has been talked of amongst our nations long since.

"Brethren, listen. You have informed us, that you intend to visit us; yes, that even in our tents and cabins you will take us by the hand. You, brethren, cannot admit a doubt but that we should be very happy to see you.

"Brethren, listen. It is but proper to inform you at this time, that when you do come forward to see us, you will, no doubt, pass by my place of residence at Sandusky. I will then take you, not only by the hand, but by the arm, and will conduct you safely to the grand council-fire of our great Sasteretsey, where all good things are transacted, and where nothing

bad is permitted to appear. When in the grand council of our Sasteretsey, we will then sit down together in peace and friendship, as brethren are accustomed to do after a long absence; and remind each other, and talk of those things that were done between our good grandfathers, when they first met upon our lands—upon this great island!

“Brethren, may the Great Spirit, the master of light and life, so dispose the hearts and minds of all our nations and people, that the calamities of war may never more be felt, or known by any of them! that our roads and paths may never more be stained with the blood of our young warriors! and that our helpless women and children may live in peace and happiness!”

On the receipt of this request of the Wyandots to visit them, the committee concluded to appoint a few friends for that purpose. On their arrival among the Indians, the Friends were received with much satisfaction, and they expressed the gratitude they felt for the care and friendship which Friends manifested towards them. During this visit, Friends were sorrowfully affected in observing the baneful effects produced upon the Indians by spirituous liquors, which at that time were very freely supplied to them by the Canadian traders, in exchange for skins and furs. Their almost universal intemperance presented a very serious difficulty in the way of the efforts of the committee for their civilization.

No communication between the Indians and the committee took place from the date of this visit until 1802. In that year some of the principal chiefs of the tribes in question, passed through Baltimore, and the committee took the opportunity of conferring with them, informing them that Friends had felt discouraged in attempting their improvement, in consequence of their intemperate use of ardent spirits. This opportunity, it appears, opened the way for a free communication on the subject; and the following very pathetic speech, made by one of their chiefs on the occasion, may properly find a place in these pages, viz.

“Brothers and Friends,

“When our forefathers first met on this island, then your red brethren

were very numerous. But since the introduction amongst us, of what you call spirituous liquors, and what we think may justly be called poison, our numbers are greatly diminished. It has destroyed a great part of your red brethren.

"My brothers and friends, we plainly perceive that you see the very evil which destroys your red brethren; it is not an evil of our own making, we have not placed it amongst us ourselves; it is an evil placed amongst us by the white people; we look to them to remove it out of our country. We tell them, brethren, fetch us useful things; bring goods that will clothe us, our women, and our children, and not this evil liquor, that destroys our reason, that destroys our health, that destroys our lives. But all we can say on this subject is of no service, nor gives relief to your red brethren.

"My brothers and friends, I rejoice to find that you agree in opinion with us, and express an anxiety to be, if possible, of service to us in removing this great evil out of our country, an evil which has had so much room in it, and has destroyed so many of our lives, that it causes our young men to say, 'We had better be at war with the white people; this liquor which they introduced into our country, is more to be feared than the gun and the tomahawk.' There are more of us dead since the treaty of Greenville than we lost by six years' war before. It is all owing to the introduction of this liquor amongst us.

"Brothers, when our young men have been out hunting, and are returning home loaded with skins and furs, on their way, if it happens that they come along where some of this whiskey is deposited, the white man who sells it, tells them to take a little drink; some of them will say 'No, I do not want it;' they go on till they come to another house, where they find more of the same kind of drink, it is there offered again, they refuse, and again the third time; but, finally, the fourth or fifth time, one accepts of it and takes a drink, and getting one he wants another, and then a third and fourth, till his senses have left him. After his reason comes back again to him, when he gets up and finds where he is, he asks for his peltry, the answer is, 'You have drank them.' 'Where is my gun?' 'It is gone.' 'Where is my shirt?' 'You have sold it for whiskey!!' Now, brothers, figure to yourselves what condition this man must be in: he has a family at home, a wife and children who stand in need of the profits of his hunting. What must be *their* wants when he himself is even without a shirt!"

The committee being fully persuaded that much progress could not be made in forwarding the object of their appointment whilst the Indians were so much exposed to the

temptations of spirituous liquors, so abundantly supplied to them by the whites, concluded to present a memorial to Congress upon the subject. This was favourably received, and a law was soon after passed, which, to a great extent, remedied the evil complained of.

The main obstacle in proceeding in the interesting concern of the Yearly Meeting being now removed, active measures were taken by its committee, for the introduction of agriculture amongst the Indians; and implements of husbandry, such as ploughs, hoes, axes, &c., &c., were plentifully supplied to them. A considerable amendment in their condition soon became apparent, as we learn from a letter received from the Government agent at Fort Wayne, viz.: "Since there have been no spirituous liquors in the Indian country, they appear very industrious, and are fond of raising stock," he also gave it as his opinion, "that the suppression of spirituous liquors in that country is the most beneficial thing which has ever been done for them by the United States."

It does not appear that any permanent settlement amongst the Indians was attempted by Maryland Yearly Meeting, until the year 1804, during which a deputation from the committee had a full conference with those situated in the vicinity of Fort Wayne, and remained several weeks amongst them, in visiting a number of their towns and villages. The committee having in view an establishment for instructing the natives in agriculture, a Friend who expressed a willingness to reside amongst them to superintend it, accompanied the deputation in this visit. The spot fixed upon for this establishment was on the Wabash river. A number of Indian families came, in order to receive instruction in agriculture, and a considerable quantity of ground was cleared and put into cultivation, and to some extent stocked with useful domestic animals.

Soon after the return of the committee from this important visit, they received a communication from the Indian agent

at Fort Wayne, informing them, that at a council of the Indians to which eight hundred and seventy-four of them came, the written address which Friends had left with them was interpreted and read amongst them, with which great satisfaction was expressed by the chiefs, one of whom, on behalf of the Delaware tribe, said: "For many years before I came into the world, the white people have been offering to do for us what is now mentioned, and it appears, that our eyes were never opened until this time: we will now take hold of it, and receive it. I am an old man, and want to see it before I die; if I once see it, I will die in peace, to think I have left my women and children in comfort." The rapid progress which the Indians now made in civilization, in consequence of the exertions of Friends, was beyond what the most sanguine of them could have expected, and seemed fully to compensate for the little progress which for some years was made in the beginning of the work.

The settlement on the river Wabash for a considerable time went on prosperously, and became increasingly useful to the Indians; but the labours of Friends at this establishment were, after some years, much interrupted by an ill-disposed individual who lived among the Indians, and who had acquired great influence over them; in consequence of which, the committee, after fully explaining their reasons to the Indians, concluded for a time to withdraw from that place.

On the withdrawal of the committee from the Wabash establishment, their attention was more closely directed towards the Shawnese tribe of Indians, who at that time resided partly on the river Scotia, a branch of the Muskingum, and whose hunting-grounds lay between the River Ohio and Lake Erie, and who had frequently applied to Friends for assistance. In a report made by the committee in 1812, it is stated that "a grist and saw mill had been erected in their country, and implements of husbandry furnished to them," and that the Indians manifested a disposition to

become industrious, and appeared very desirous of availing themselves of the assistance and help offered to them: "they have," continues the report alluded to, "now a considerable quantity of land in cultivation, and many of them raise as much grain as is necessary for the consumption of their own families. They have, besides, a considerable number of cattle, hogs, &c." Besides this assistance to the Shawnese, it appears that the committee had, a short time previously to this date, extended some care to portions of the Delaware tribe, upon the river Muskingum, amongst whom a considerable improvement had taken place. For a few years subsequent to this period, the efforts of Friends were much retarded, in consequence of the unsettlement among the Indians, caused by warlike operations; but in the year 1815, tranquillity being again restored on the frontiers, the committee were enabled to resume their active labours, and in the following year, we find that a sub-committee of the "general committees on Indian concerns, appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Maryland and Ohio," was appointed to visit the settlements heretofore under the care of Friends, "with a view of ascertaining the actual situation and present disposition of these Indians." This sub-committee visited the Indians at Waupaghkonnetta, where they met the chiefs of the village at a council, and explained to them the object of their visit, and that Friends were desirous to furnish them with implements of husbandry, and to place a Friend among them to instruct them in the use of them. The following extract from the report made by the sub-committee on this occasion, shows that, notwithstanding the interruption just adverted to, considerable advancement in civilization has been made:—

"Whilst at this village, we visited a number of the families in their cabins, and were everywhere received with great kindness and affection. We also examined a good part of the land which they have in cultivation, and found that their corn was generally as good as any that we had

passed in the whole of our journey. Almost every family has also a good garden. Several gardens were well stocked with various vegetables, such as potatoes, cabbages, beans, lettuce, parsnips, carrots, squashes, and some other kinds of melons.

“ The Indians of this village are nearly all Shawnese, and consist of about eight hundred persons. It is computed that they have two hundred and fifty acres of land planted with corn, which from its present appearance will, we think, yield between seven and eight thousand bushels. We found many of them at work in their fields, and from the best information we could collect, it appears that a considerable number of them are becoming industrious. Many of the families have also some poultry.”

From Waupaghkonnetta the committee proceeded to a settlement of about four hundred Indians, near Stoney Creek, not far from the head-waters of the Miami, who had also made progress in civilization, and evinced a desire to avail themselves of such help, as Friends might be disposed to render them for their further advancement.

During the succeeding two years, considerable progress appears to have been made at the Waupaghkonnetta establishment. We find by a report of the committee, made in the latter part of 1818, that the grist and saw-mill, which Friends had erected there, were at that time in full operation, and that Indian affairs at this place were under the immediate superintendence of a sub-committee of four men and three women Friends, residing contiguous to the spot. In consequence of the suspension of a late treaty between the Government and the Indians, by which the possession of the reservations confirmed to them by this treaty became endangered, many of the Indians became much discouraged. Friends, seeing the injurious tendency which a suspension of this treaty would have upon the objects of their care, laid the subject before the President, in a memorial, in the eighth month of this year. The result of these endeavours were for

a time satisfactory, as the treaty alluded to was again recognised, and the reservations of the Indians considerably enlarged, causing them to feel a greater degree of security in the possession of their land. In the following year a visit was paid by the sub-committee to Lewistown, with a view of opening an establishment there, similar to that at Waupaghkonnetta, and for that purpose a Friend and his wife were stationed at Lewistown.

The committee about this time began to turn its attention to the subject of education. The settlement at Waupaghkonnetta appeared to be a suitable place for opening a school. Some exertions in the way of education had already been made, by the distribution of a number of primers among the children at this establishment. The Lewistown Indians had for some time past been very desirous to have their children educated, and three of their chiefs had placed their sons with a Friend, who kept a school at the settlement at Madriver, who conducted themselves very agreeably toward those with whom they were thus associated.

Subscriptions were raised for this purpose, and in the report of 1819, we find the acknowledgment of a sum of one hundred and fifty pounds from our friends in Ireland for this service.

In establishing a school among the Indians, it was considered necessary to make arrangements for boarding and clothing the pupils, so as to have them entirely under care. Two or three years elapsed before the necessary steps were completed; but a purchase was at length made of an eligible tract of land of two hundred and fourteen acres, about five miles from the agricultural establishment at Waupaghkonnetta, the committee considering that, by placing it at such a distance much inconvenience would be avoided, as the children would be more separated from their "idle associates, and be more under the control and attached to the company of their preceptors." The school-house and dwelling for the superintendent and family having been erected, and the pro-

per arrangements made, the school was opened about the latter end of the year 1822. The hearty reception which the establishment of this school met with in the minds of the Indians, may be gathered from the following speech of one of their principal chiefs, made at a conference with them upon the subject, viz.

“ My friends, we all heard your discourse, and after duly considering your words we find they are good, and we are all well pleased with them. We think the institution a good one, and perceive it will be very advantageous to our children. They will be greatly benefited by it. The children who have been to you heretofore will return to you again ; there is a great number amongst us. We will use all our influence with the parents, particularly the mothers, to send them. We consider that in educating our children, we are qualifying them to pass through the world with satisfaction and ease, and fitting them, in part, for any sphere of life. We are fully convinced the life we have lived will in no wise suit them. We therefore desire you to exercise all diligence with them, and not give them up too easily ; but at the same time you will treat them, as you observed, with tenderness and respect.

“ We consider the Society of Friends as our real friends. We know their manner of worshipping the Great Spirit is to us more agreeable than any other people ; we are also very well pleased that our children are to be educated by our real friends.

“ Now when we retire home, we will exert ourselves in bringing the children to you.”

The following report of the committee on Indian concerns for the Yearly Meeting of Ohio, dated 9th mo. 10, 1823, will show the encouraging early progress of this establishment, as well as other pleasing features in their Indian concerns, viz.

OHIO INDIAN REPORT, 1823.

“ To the Yearly Meeting now sitting,

“ The committee on Indian concerns report, that agreeably to a request from the committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting, two of our members, deputed to the service, attended with them at the time of their last Yearly Meeting, and also visited the establishment; and by their report it appears there is an increasing interest felt by Friends there, and a considerable addition made to their committee.

“ By a communication received from them, we are informed, that a deputation of theirs have been lately at the school, and found the family in good health. There were about twelve scholars, who were making considerable progress in learning, and it was expected the number would soon be increased to sixteen or eighteen.

“ The farm was in a middling state of cultivation, about eight acres were in corn and most of the remainder in grass; about four acres more are nearly cleared, and will be ready to sow with wheat this season; the wheat which was reaped the last harvest turned out well, except a small part, which was on wet ground.

“ The deputation had a conference with most of the chiefs, many other Indians being also present. They all appeared to be well satisfied with the manner in which the school had been conducted, and expressed a wish that their children might be taught to work as well as to read and write. They also promised to send them more steadily to school than heretofore.

“ It was proposed by the deputation, that several of the Indians who were best qualified should attend the school once a month, to confer with the superintendent and teacher respecting the order of the school, and to endeavour to impress on the minds of the children the necessity of attending thereto. The Indians were pleased with the proposal, and agreed to appoint four of their number for that purpose, some of whom are to attend every month.

“ A very great scarcity of provisions has been experienced by the Indians, in consequence of the former crop being short. At present their prospects appear better. They have generally abstained from the use of spirituous liquors, and are more settled in their minds than heretofore, having entirely given up the idea of moving, and they are very desirous Friends should continue the school establishment.

“ The committee have employed a young man (a Friend) as teacher at the school, for a short time on trial. And Jesse Baldwin and his wife, who were there last year, still remain as superintendents.

“ The purchase of the farm, and the improvements thereon, together

with other necessary expenses, have required large disbursements ; yet we hope when the farm is enlarged the expenditure will be lessened.

“ When we take into consideration the magnitude of the work, the interest which our friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting take therein, and the progress the children are making in learning, we hope there is cause of encouragement for Friends to persevere in the benevolent undertaking.”

Although the prospect respecting the school at this time was so encouraging, it was not long before it suffered a severe check, in consequence of the unsettlement produced among the Indians by an intention which many of them began to entertain of removing to the west of the Mississippi. This step was so far concluded upon, at least by the larger number of Indians, in the early part of 1826, that they informed Friends that they did not wish the school to be continued. The school was in consequence dismissed.

Though the removal of the Indians, and their frequently unsettled state previous to their doing so, were circumstances highly prejudicial to their advancement in civilization ; yet we may reasonably hope that the knowledge which they had already obtained in agriculture and mechanical arts, through the instrumentality of Friends, would be of great and, perhaps, lasting benefit to them in the western wilderness, to which they were now about to proceed. A person, who was stationed by the Government among the Indians, says, in a letter about this date, in reference to the subject just alluded to, “ That there was a prospect of a considerable number of the Indians setting out on their way to the place contemplated for their new residence beyond the Mississippi ; the chiefs still seem much opposed to leaving the place, but should they all go soon, I am very confident that the labours bestowed on them by Friends will not be lost. The arts of civilized life have imperceptibly crept in among them, which they will not lose ; such as breaking their oxen to the yoke, hauling their timber, and ploughing the ground. When Friends first came among these Indians, the women had to perform nearly all the labour ; but the case is now altered, the men are not ashamed, but proud to be seen at work.”

Soon after this dispersion, the Indians who remained behind in the vicinity of Waupaghkonnetta made application to Friends to have the school resumed; this was readily complied with, and in the latter end of 1826 we find it again in operation. The following letter from a Friend residing at Mount Pleasant, in Ohio, and the report of the committee on Indian concerns for Indiana, convey some interesting intelligence relative to this subject, viz.

OHIO INDIAN REPORT, 1826.

“To the Yearly Meeting now sitting,

“The committee on Indian concerns report, that soon after our last Yearly Meeting, we received a communication from the chiefs and principal Indians of the part of the Shawnese nation which remained at Waupaghkonnetta, requesting that the school for the education of their children might be resumed. The committee accordingly made preparation, and the school was opened about the first of the 12th month, under the inspection of Isaac Harvey. Simon Harvey was engaged as teacher, and continued until the latter part of the 4th month last, since which time the school has been under the immediate care of Asa Pound and wife, our superintendents. About fifteen or sixteen children have attended, and their conduct has been orderly, both in the school and in the family. The boys have willingly assisted on the farm when required, and the girls in the business of the house.

“Believing that the time has arrived when it will be useful to instruct the girls in spinning, we have procured two wool-wheels, and some wool in rolls, which we expect to forward to the school immediately. Four Indian boys, at the request of their parents, have been brought into the neighbourhood of Springfield, Ohio, and placed at school, under the care of the committee. The committee of Ohio Yearly Meeting have forwarded a considerable quantity of clothing, and materials for making clothes for the children who are attending the school; and similar collections have been made within the limits of Miami and Centre Quarterly Meetings for the same purpose.

“The committee have continued to take some care of the mills, and have made some repairs in order to keep them in useful operation.

“The expenses of keeping up the establishment during the past year have been great, to defray which funds have been furnished, as heretofore, by the committee of Ohio Yearly Meeting.”

Mount Pleasant, 3rd month, 28th, 1827.

"By recent information from our friends of Indiana, it appears that the school at Waupaghkonnetta was going on with better prospects of success than at any former period. Since the removal of a number of dissatisfied Indians beyond the Mississippi, which took place last year, the others have been more settled, and manifest not only a desire for the education of their children, but a reformation among those more advanced in years. Councils were frequently held among themselves, with their women and children present, to endeavour to prevent the use of spirituous liquors among them. At the time of the last account, there were sixteen scholars of both sexes, and the number expected to be increased as soon as warmer weather came on. Friends of Miami seem warmly interested in the concern, and we think it should be prosecuted to the full extent of the means within our power. It has been proposed to print a spelling-book for them in both the English and Shawnee language, which will probably be done."

In consequence of the delicate state of the health of the wife of the superintendent, the school in 1828 was again obliged to be closed, and remained so until the sixth month of the following year, the opening of it being delayed, "owing to the confusion into which the Indians were thrown by some of the measures of the General Government toward's them;" "since which time," says the report of the Indiana committee, made in the tenth month following, "it has been attended by from ten to fourteen children, who have conducted themselves in the school and family in an orderly manner." In the same report it is remarked, in reference to the general progress of civilization at Waupaghkonnetta, that "the Indians are mostly settled on farms, and many of them raise grain and stock sufficient for their own consumption. They are very desirous that we should bring up their children as we do our own; that is, to instruct them in all the arts of civilized life. The children show a capacity for acquiring science; some have made a small progress in learning, and have a slight knowledge of our language. Several of the girls have made considerable advancement in spinning, sewing, and knitting."

Although the labours of Friends appear to have been highly valued by the Indians who had remained behind, and for a

time a good degree of settlement prevailed ; yet as frequent attempts continued to be made by the white population to induce them to remove westward, they were kept in a state of unsettlement, very prejudicial to their improvement. They were at last prevailed upon to part with their lands. The final treaty for this purpose was in the year 1831, although their removal did not take place for a year or more afterwards.

Almost from the commencement of the active endeavours of the Yearly Meeting of Maryland, in this philanthropic engagement in 1795, to the time of the removal of the objects of their benevolence to the western frontier, a marked and gradual amelioration of their condition appears to have been effected, notwithstanding the interruptions which from time to time arose in the prosecution of the work. With such evidence of the success which, under the divine blessing, had attended their labours, it is no matter of surprise to find, that the interest and sympathy which had been awakened for this injured class of our fellow-beings, should continue to be strongly felt. Thus, we find the Yearly Meeting of Ohio, in 1832 and 1833, addressing our own in regard to the subject in the following terms :—

1832. “The Indians who have long been under our care in connexion with our brethren of Indiana and Maryland Yearly Meetings, are now about to emigrate to the west of the Mississippi, having sold their lands to the Government, and the meeting being brought into feelings of tender sympathy with them in their present situation, has encouraged the committee charged with that concern, still to keep the object in view, and if way should open for it, continue to extend the offices of kindness to them, when they shall have removed to their new habitation.”

1833. “The remnants of Indian tribes, formerly established at Waupaghkonnetta and Lewistown, in this state, who have for many years received our care, have within the last year been removed by Government west of the Missis-

issippi, and although in their new situation they are nearly nine hundred miles from Mount Pleasant, yet we have not felt ourselves discharged from the concern. Our feelings of interest for these now partially civilized natives, induces a willingness to encounter the increased difficulties in prosecuting our labours for their welfare, which their change of location, and other circumstances, have thrown in our way. In pursuance of an agreement made by our committee and those of Indiana and Maryland, a deputation of three friends from the committee of Indiana have made a visit to those Indians at their new abode, west of the Mississippi."

It is melancholy to think of the removal of the Indians to uncultivated wilds, in a distant and almost unknown region, without any suitable arrangements having been made to ensure them adequate means of subsistence when there, and which, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, were so evidently needed. That this was likely to be attended with consequences the most disastrous and distressing, none but those who are blind to the common wants of humanity could fail to have foreseen. Such, it appears, in common with most of the tribes who had gone west, was soon the painful experience of the Shawnese. The following extract from an article in the "Missouri Republican," written about the time of the removal of the Indians in question, although rather long, is yet so very descriptive of the suffering condition of the Indians in their new situation, that for the further information of our friends, we are disposed to give it a place in these pages : it is as follows :--

FROM THE "MISSOURI REPUBLICAN," 1834.

"For the last three or four years we have endeavoured, but with very little success, to draw the public attention to the Indians upon our frontier. The Government has been crowding tribe after tribe upon our borders, without any

preparatory arrangements. Half-civilized Indians are brought from their farms, and set down in the wilderness to starve or plunder for a livelihood. The game is exhausted, and the means and inducements to an agricultural life are inadequate and unsafe. Considering the subject for the present with a sole view to the interest of the Indians, we feel constrained to say, that the system heretofore pursued by the United States is cruel in the extreme. It is idle to talk about a voluntary removal of a tribe, from their fathers' graves to a distant position in the wilderness, surrounded by strange, jealous, perhaps hostile nations. It is a tale which may be believed in the Atlantic cities, or in the midland parts of the old states, but we of the frontier know better: we know that Indians are compelled to remove by all the arts of cunning and of force. They are teased and harassed continually in their old locations, by the designed intrusions and trespasses of the whites, and by state regulations studiously vexatious, until they can find no peace nor comfort at their old homes. If these means fail, the threats of power can bully them into submission, or their chiefs can be bribed to remove. It may be, that under present circumstances, it is necessary to remove the Indians to the frontier. Be it so; still, to remove them without a humane system in actual practice, to support, protect, and govern them, and to guard our white settlements, is cruel to the Indians and unjust to the frontier states. Our own legislature might perhaps have done something to operate favourably upon the measures of Congress, but whenever the subject was introduced, a foolish notion prevailed, that it involved a party question, and the majority were afraid to act, lest they might compromise their Jacksonism.

“As regards the peace and safety of our own citizens, no prudent man can shut his eyes to the danger which threatens the whole line of our western frontier. The exiles that now inhabit that region are discontented and sullen. They hate us, because they feel that we have wronged them; they fear

us, because they see that we are strong enough to wrong them with impunity, and believe that we will wrong them whenever interest prompts. Most of them are in squalid poverty; some die with starvation every year."

Friends appear to have been alive to the distresses of these poor injured people in their new abode; and the following report of the committee of Indiana, Yearly Meeting on Indian concerns, in 1834, furnishes us with some interesting information respecting the exertions of Friends for its alleviation. From this report also it is evident that no time appears to have been lost on their part, in making arrangements for still prosecuting the work of Christian instruction and improvement among the Indians, although so distantly situated.

INDIANA INDIAN REPORT, 1834.

"To the Yearly Meeting, now sitting:

"Shortly after last Yearly Meeting we received a communication from the chiefs of the Shawnese Indians, informing us that they were in a suffering condition, for want of necessary provisions. A meeting of the committee was called immediately, and measures entered into, in order to afford them some relief; a committee was appointed to receive and forward such articles of provision as Friends, in their different neighbourhoods might be willing to contribute; and, from the liberality of Friends on that occasion, there was collected about three thousand pounds of bacon, and eleven and half barrels of flour, which was shipped from Cincinnati, to the care of Richard W. Cummins, Indian agent, residing near them, for his attention in distributing to their necessities; he having informed us that he would attend to it. The freight of said provisions amounted to near one hundred dollars, and the greater part of that was freely contributed.

"The committee last year united in a plan of operations, which we propose to be governed by in future. It was offered for the approbation of the committees of Ohio and Maryland Yearly Meetings, but we have not as yet received any official reply.

"The plan united in is as follows: viz., We are willing to propose as a plan for the proceedings of the committees in future, that the concern of the civilization of the Shawnese Indians, who have heretofore been under our care, and who have removed, and are now living on the Arkansas river,

be carried on by the three Yearly Meetings of Maryland, Ohio, and Indiana, and that the active part of the business devolve on the Committees of Ohio and Indiana jointly.

“ That there be a suitable family placed among the Indians, as superintendent, and a school kept up regularly with at least twenty-five scholars, who are to be taught the use of letters and the domestic arts. That the children of such Friends as may reside among the Indians may be permitted to attend the school, which will doubtless be to the further advancement of the Indian children in a knowledge of our language, and that allowance be made by Friends, for the schooling of such children; and that it be the duty of the superintendent to give such counsel and direction, at all times, to the Indians, as in his opinion may be beneficial to them, in their agricultural pursuits, &c.; that the care and management of the school be confided to them, with the assistance of a man Friend, a mechanic to be employed for that and other purposes, as the superintendent may think best.

“ That there be buildings erected suitable for such an establishment on the Indian land, if approved by them, and as soon as practicable, to put a sufficient quantity of ground under cultivation, in order that the children may be employed a part of their time working on the farm; and that a woman Friend be employed to assist in the family.

“ As we are well aware that a knowledge of the principles of the Christian religion is necessary, and that it is almost useless to attempt such a work as that of civilization among the Indians without such a knowledge being introduced among them; and in order to bring this into effect, we propose, if consistent with the views of Government, that inasmuch as a sub-agent and blacksmith are to be employed and paid by Government, that suitable Friends with families be recommended by the committees to the Secretary of War, and if approved of by him, appointed to such stations, that thus there might be a number of Friends sufficient to hold a religious meeting; and that the Indians have an opportunity to attend and sit with Friends, which we apprehend would not only be beneficial to the Indians themselves, but a strength to our members, whose lot it may be thus to be separated from the society of their Friends with such an important charge and responsibility resting upon them.

“ We are willing further to propose that all communications, in case of emergency, either to the Indians or to Government, be made by the committee having the immediate charge of the concern; and that the funds designed for carrying on the concern be lodged with the Treasurer of the Committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting.

“ And further, we lay before the Yearly Meeting the following com -

munication from our dear friends in England, on the subject of Indian civilization.” *

Pursuant to the plan proposed in the preceding report, we find that, in the following year, the building necessary for the contemplated institution was in the course of erection, and in the latter end of 1836 the committee was enabled to report that “the dwelling-house for the superintendent on their land is finished, and the intended school-house was in progress.” The number of the Shawnese tribe, at this time residing on their new district of land, which comprises about 2,500 square miles, was about nine hundred, six hundred of whom were those who had been under the care of Friends at Waupaghkonnetta. The situation chosen for the new establishment among them is on the Kansas river, a branch of the Missouri, and west of the organized limits of the United States. The management of the establishment, as heretofore, was to be under the joint-committees of the three Yearly Meetings in question.

In the year 1837 the committees having engaged a Friend and his wife as superintendents, with a young woman Friend to assist them, and also a young man to act as teacher in the school, they all proceeded to the place of destination in the latter end of that year. They were soon followed by a de-

* The communication referred to, received from Friends in England, contained the information that the Yearly Meeting, in reading their Report on Indian concerns, felt much interested for the promotion of the prospect which Friends of America entertained, of continuing their labours on behalf of the Shawnese, who had so long been under their care; and in order to encourage them in it, a subscription during the Yearly Meeting of 1834 was opened, the object of which was thus defined by the heading of the subscription paper: “Subscriptions for the Benefit of the Aborigines of North America; and especially for the Christian Instruction and Civilization of the Shawnese Indians, who have lately removed from the State of Ohio to the west of the Mississippi, together with such other tribes as may be afterwards located in the same district. It being understood that their Christian instruction is the primary object which the subscribers have in view.” The sum subscribed amounted to nearly three hundred pounds.

putation from the Committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting, who had an interview with the Indians at their council. The Indians appeared glad to meet with them. On conferring with them respecting the school, they manifested much pleasure at the prospect of having one among them, and said they would furnish as many children as the committee wanted, as soon as the teacher and house were ready for their reception.

In the re-organization of their Indian concerns, the attention of Friends of these Yearly Meetings was closely directed to the Christian instruction and religious welfare of the objects of their care. The annexed extract from the Indian Report to Indiana Yearly Meeting in the tenth month, 1837, conveys very pleasing intelligence on this important part of their transactions, viz. :

EXTRACT FROM INDIANA INDIAN REPORT, 1837.

“ In deliberating on this very interesting subject, it has seemed to the committee that the importance of our endeavouring to inculcate in the minds of the Indians of every class, a knowledge of the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion, as plainly set forth in the Holy Scriptures, is of the first importance, as we are aware that it is in this way, and in this only, that we can expect that a blessing will attend our labours in so important an undertaking as that in which we are engaged, in regard to this people ; and in order to promote the primary object of the concern, it is the judgment of the committee that instruction be given to our superintendent on three points.

“ 1st. That a meeting for worship be held regularly on first days, and one in the middle of the week, which the Indians are to be invited to attend.

“ 2nd. That portions of the Holy Scripture be read daily in a solemn manner to all classes of the Indians who are willing to attend, and a silent pause to be carefully observed after the reading.

“3rd. That the school be put into operation as early as possible, under the care of a suitable teacher, for the literary education of their children, and more especially for their instruction in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; these several provisions being a revival of the plan which had been acted on at W———.”

During the year 1838, the condition of the Aborigines of North America, having afresh claimed the serious consideration of Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting, it was concluded to publish an address to the citizens of the United States, which had been prepared by the Meeting for Sufferings, and also to present a memorial to Congress, praying that the lands on which the Indians were then settled west of the Mississippi, should be granted to them in perpetuity, and that they might be allowed to send delegates to that branch of the legislature.

The following extracts, from the reports of the committee on Indian affairs, will show the state of their concern for the years 1840 and 1841.

EXTRACT FROM INDIAN INDIAN REPORT, 10th MONTH, 1840.

“The school, which was reported to the last Yearly Meeting as being in operation, was continued, with from twelve to fifteen children, until in the third month last, at which time Elias Newby, who had been engaged as teacher, returned home, his term of service having expired; in consequence of which the school was dismissed, and the children returned home.

“Our acting committee employed Henry Harvey and Ann his wife, with their family, consisting of one son and two daughters, who are grown, and three smaller children, and a teacher, for the sum of one thousand dollars per annum.

“The following is an extract of the report submitted by them to this committee, as exhibiting the state of the concern at the present time.

FRIENDS' ESTABLISHMENT, INDIAN TERRITORY, 9th MONTH
8th, 1840.

“Dear Friends,

“We arrived here on the thirteenth of Sixth Month last, and found that the school had been vacant from some time in the Third month;

that David Jones, whom we had employed as teacher, had been here several weeks, but the school had not been resumed in consequence of the weakly state of the health of the wife of the former superintendent.

"Soon after our arrival, we invited the chiefs and some of the principal men of the Shawnese, to meet us here in council on the subject of the school.

"Accordingly, at the time appointed, fifty-three of the principal men, including all the chiefs, except one who was sick, met us, and after addressing them in regard to the concern of Friends on their account, the desire which the Society continues to feel for their present and future welfare, &c., they were informed that we were ready and willing to take twenty-five children, including those who had been at school here before.

"About the first of Seventh month, the school was filled to twenty-seven children, who were regular in their attendance, except two, who were taken home on account of their mother being sick; she still being sick they have not returned.

"In a few weeks from the commencement of the school we had thirty-two, and now for the last few days have thirty-six, who are with us and wish to continue, and who have been given up by their parents.

"The progress of the children in improving, with a few exceptions, is equal to what could be expected, and, considering the disadvantages under which they labour for want of understanding our language, or being able to speak it, (though in this they are making considerable improvement,) we think their progress in learning is equal to what is common in schools of white children. A number of them have learned very fast in reading and writing; several who had not been at school until we commenced can now read in easy lessons, and write a pretty good large hand, and others who had not been at school before, together with some who had, are progressing very well. Of the thirty-six children in attendance, all Shawnese except two, who are connected with the tribe, twenty-two are males and fourteen females. Twelve of them had been at school before our arrival.

"It is but justice to say of the children, that they are obedient to us, are very attentive to directions given them, in doors and out, and as orderly and peaceable among themselves and in the family, as we apprehend so large a number of children of any description, under like circumstances, would be.

"We have progressed to our satisfaction, and the Indians are well satisfied with the school thus far.

"The meeting for worship has been kept up, and the daily reading of the Holy Scriptures in the family has been attended to as directed.

"The children have been kept at their books five or six hours in each day, five days in each week; they are allowed an hour or more recess each

day, and the remainder of the day they are kept at work, and bid fair to be very helpful. The boys have gathered a considerable quantity of fodder, while we were engaged at other work; they were helpful in harvest and at many other kinds of work. The girls can all knit stockings, except one or two, who have not long been with us; several of them can make their own dresses: they are helpful in the kitchen, and seem intent to learn all they can.

"The Indians have furnished us with as intelligent children as are in the nation, and of a very suitable age to commence at school; several of the chiefs have sent theirs, and all are desirous that their children should be raised to habits of industry."

EXTRACT FROM MARYLAND INDIAN REPORT, 10th MONTH, 1841.

"The committee charged with the concern of the Yearly Meeting for the civilization and Christian instruction of the Indians, report:

"That by a report received from the committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting, who are charged with the active duties of the concern, dated the fourteenth of the Eighth month last, we are informed, that our school among the Indians has been regularly continued during the past year, consisting of thirty-two regular scholars, and four who are irregular in their attendance.

"About the time of attending and gathering their corn-crops, the school was reduced to twenty-five scholars, at other times it has been increased to thirty-six. There are six who read in the Bible and nine in the Testament, the rest, except four, read in easy lessons and spell; fourteen write and learn the art of figures.

"The meeting has been kept up, except when sickness in the family has prevented. On first days a few of the Indians frequently attend, whose deportment therein is orderly, and the children behave well.

"At eight o'clock in the morning the school is opened, by the family being collected, and a portion of the Holy Scriptures read by the superintendent, after which the school-exercises commence.

"By several letters received from our superintendents, we are informed that the school appears to have the entire confidence of the Indians, and they express the belief, that were the buildings adequate and our means sufficient to defray the expenses, it might be increased to near one hundred children."

Through one of our correspondents for this part of the Union, some further interesting intelligence respecting this establishment on the Arkansas river has been obtained, in which the behaviour of the children is spoken of as being

good, that they agree among themselves quite as well as white children, and that they conducted themselves in a very orderly and praiseworthy manner at meeting, so that "the outward appearance of the meetings were kept up to the credit of the Society, and," continues the writer, "I think I am safe in saying that they are owned by the good presence of the great Head of the church." The average number of Indians who attended these meetings was about five; sometimes it happens that companies of other Indian tribes visit the neighbourhood of this establishment in their hunting expeditions; in one day, no less than forty-six men, besides women and children, passed the house, thirty-four of whom broke bread with its inmates, so that," says the superintendent, "if to feed the hungry and clothe the naked is any part of the Christian's duty, this establishment has a valid claim to it; for in addition to these casual visitors, we have the Shawnese calling on us daily: this, in addition to our regular family of fifty persons, makes a great deal of work, and consumes a great deal of provisions.

The United States agent, who visited the school at this place in 1841, after examining the children in the various branches of their learning, and hearing them recite Scripture history, pronounced it the most interesting one in that district, and hoped Friends would be encouraged respecting it.

The Indian report of 1842 states that the number of children in the school during the year, ranged from thirty to thirty-five, and that in this period forty-six had received instruction; twenty of these read the Scriptures daily; fifteen read easy lessons and spelt, and three little ones were in their letters; seventeen wrote a plain legible hand, and six a round hand; twenty-three were learning the use of figures, some of whom were working the simple rules the second time, and others had learned several useful tables; eighteen were acquainted with the geography of the United States and territories, sufficient to recite, without the atlas,

their boundaries, capitals, and amount of population, with their principal rivers, &c. They had also some knowledge of the zones, latitude and longitude, and could answer many questions on the map of the world. They were considered by strangers who visited them, to be expert in answering questions on Scripture history, as well as geography.

The following extract from the last annual report of this institution, will exhibit its state up to the latest period of our information.

EXTRACT FROM INDIANA INDIAN REPORT, NINTH MONTH, 1843.

“ Our school among the Indians has been regularly continued during the past year.

“ About the time of planting in the spring, and cultivating corn, several of the Indian boys left the school, and returned home to assist their parents.

“ Forty-five children, between the ages of five and eighteen years, have been taught more or less in the school since last report, namely, twenty-seven boys and eighteen girls. Ten of the above number have been received since the school year commenced, five of whom had never been at school before; the average number has been about thirty during the past year. Twenty-five of the scholars read, write, and cipher; nineteen of whom study geography.

“ A First-day school has been regularly kept up, and several of the children have committed to memory a number of Scripture passages.

“ The family assembles in the morning, and a chapter is read by the Superintendent, with the observance of a suitable pause before and after reading; and not unfrequently more than the usual family are present.

“ The meeting for worship has been regularly kept up, and frequently a few of the Indians are present.

“ By the accounts received from our Superintendents, we are informed that the surplus produce raised on the farm and sold was nearly sufficient to defray the expenses of the establishment the past year, except the compensation to the Superintendents and others in our employ.

“ Among the expenses incurred were those for materials used in erecting an additional apartment to the dwelling-house, the lower room of which is to be used as a sitting-room, and the upper-room as a bed-chamber.

“ Some additions have been made to the farm the past year.

“ Our Superintendent harvested three hundred and twenty dozens of wheat, nine hundred and sixty of oats, and about two tons of hay. There

are forty-four acres in corn, four and a half acres in buck-wheat, and one in potatoes, all of which are promising. Also, on the farm, four horses, thirty-five head of cattle ; seventeen of them are milch cows, and upwards of forty hogs.

“ From the accounts received, there appears to be a sufficient supply of clothing for the use of the establishment the ensuing year, or nearly so.”

The committee in this report proposed to the Yearly Meeting that the sum of six hundred dollars should be raised in aid of the objects of this institution, which was united with. It was also reported that Ohio Yearly Meeting had agreed to subscribe the sum of three hundred dollars for the same purpose. The committee, it appears, in the prosecution of their engagement, had incurred a debt of about two thousand dollars, which during the past year had been but little increased, notwithstanding the expense incurred in the additions made to the farm and house, and a hope was entertained that, by economical arrangements, the debt would be annually reduced, without lessening the number of children receiving instruction.

In concluding this interesting and cheering portion of our narrative, we cannot but express our concern for the encouragement of our brethren engaged in this labour of love. The difficulties of the Indians in their new position in the western wilderness may well awaken our deep sympathy, and lead us again and again to inquire how far we are paying the debt of love which we owe them. The language of the apostle is strikingly descriptive of the position of the Christian church in the midst of the world : “ I am a debtor,” says he, “ both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise ;” and we believe, that as we are enabled patiently and in the resignation of our own wills to wait upon the Lord, for the renewed outpouring of the anointing oil for the service of the sanctuary, the more shall we be given to feel, both individually and in a collective capacity, the greatness of our responsibilities and the blessedness of the service. So shall we receive ability from season to season

to fulfil all that may be called for at our hands by our Lord and Master. Strong are our desires that whilst the Indians are advancing in the knowledge of the arts of civilized life which may conduce to their temporal welfare, they may also become instructed in that blessed knowledge which is life eternal; that their hearts may be enlightened with the day-spring from on high; that they may indeed come to walk in the light of the Lord; and that in the rich experience of that redemption which is in Christ Jesus, they may become partakers of the blessings spoken of by the Most High, through his prophet: "From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts."

THE END.

